THE GLORY THAT WAS GŪRJARADEŚA

PART I
THE PRE-HISTORIC WEST COAST

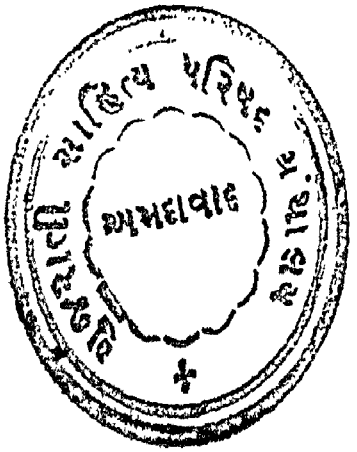
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INTRODUCTION

IN the year 998 of the Saṁvata era, Mūlarājadeva, the Cālukya or Solanki, came to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa. He founded a dynasty which contributed in the largest measure to the development and growth of modern Gūjarāta. In memory of the accession of this ruler, at its biennial sessions in 1942, the Gūjarāti Sāhitya Pariṣad decided to hold Mūlarāja Solanki millennial celebrations.

In connection with these celebrations it was further decided that the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which is closely allied to the Gūjarāti Sāhitya Pariṣad should get a history of the Cālukyas of Gūjarāta prepared in English and the Pariṣad in Gujarati. I undertook to prepare the work. This was a welcome task, for, in the programme of my literary work since 1922 a history of Gūjarāta figured prominently as a companion to my volume of *Gūjarāta and its Literature.*

Historical literature in connection with the Cālukyas has been ample. Apart from epigraphic records most of which are collected in the three volumes by Shri ACARYA on *The Historical Inscriptions of Gūjarāta* published by the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, there is a large volume of literature embedded with historical materials composed during and immediately after the Cālukya period (942 A.C.—1300 A.C.). Most of it is now brought to light as a result of the life-long labours of Acarya Jinavijayaji MUNI, now the Director of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. There have also been four works dealing with the history of the Calukyan period, viz. *Rāsamāla* by Sir Kinlock FORBES (1856), *History of Ancient Gujarāt* by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and JACKSON contained in the *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I Part I (1896), *Gujarāt-no Madhyakālina Rājputa Itihāsa,* Vols. I & II in Gujarati by Shri Durgashankar SHASTRI (1939) who is also associated with the Bhavan as an Hon. Professor of Bhāgavata Dharma ; and Dr. RAY'S section on the Cālukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka in the *Dynastic History of Northern India,* Vol. II.

The author of *Rāsamālā* principally relied upon Merutunga's *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi,* Kṛṣṇa Kavi's *Ratnamālā* and the stories collected from the bards by Kavi Dalpatram Dayabhai. This work, written in the middle of the nineteenth century, has been revised later. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji relied upon not only the principal historical works written during the Calukyan period and thereafter, but also tried to deduce historical data by a critical analysis of the materials found in the *prabandhas* in the light of the epigraphic research made when the work was written. That work has held

the field for over fifty years. But since the work was written in 1885, fresh materials have come to light. Many unpublished literary works are now in print, some of them very ably edited. New literary works have been discovered ; inscriptions and coins not only relating to Gūjarāta but other parts of the country have thrown light on the period. Many Gujarati scholars have written valuable monographs on one or the other of the subjects dealing with the period. And the knowledge of our history has grown apace on account of the valuable labours of eminent scholars. Shri Durgashanker SHASTRI in his work has attempted to bring the history of Dr. Bhagwanlal up-to-date. By the very comprehensive nature of the work to which he set himself, Dr. RAY'S treatment is restricted to the dynasty rather than to the land and the people. Recently Shri Rasiklal PARIKH in his introduction to the *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemacandra has given a survey in English of the fresh materials relating to this period drawn from Jain sources.

Since I wrote my first novel *Pāṭaṇanī Prabhutā* in 1915, I have been familiar with most of the literary and epigraphic materials relating to the Cālukyas of Gūjarāta. I have contributed perhaps more than any single author in placing before modern Gūjarāta the greatness of Aṇahilvāḍa Pāṭaṇa and its architects, the Cālukyas. But in my novels relating to the Calukyan period I had naturally adopted the perspective which Hemacandracarya first presented in literature and which, generation after generation, including the authors above referred to, had accepted as historically correct. It was expressed by Sir Kinlock FORBES in these words : "Their greatest and enduring claim to glory is, however, to be found in the fact that surpassing the boast of....Augustus, they found their country waste and left it a land flowing with milk and honey."

But when I began to work at my new task I found the perspective faulty and I realised the utter impossibility of writing a history of Gūjarāta only with reference to the Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa. At the time there was no Gūjarāta as there is one to-day. Mūlarāja was not the founder—not the Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva as Hemacandra would have it—of modern Gūjarāta, but a fugitive relic of a great historic age of Gūrjaradeśa. For 400 years before and 100 years after him, what is modern Gūjarāta now was ruled by rulers of other dynasties of Gūrjaradeśa, some of whom were more powerful than the most powerful Cālukya. Modern Gūjarāta was only the remnant —with fresh accessions of course—of a great Gūrjaradeśa, which for a century and more stretched from the West Punjab to the Mahi, and which moulded not only the history of India but shaped in some measure the course of history by withstanding Arab aggression for well nigh two centuries. This old Gūrjaradeśa was ruled by a series of emperors, the greatest of whom was Mihira Bhoja styled *Ādivarāha,* (836 A.C.—888 A.C.) an ancestor of Mūlarāja, who in military and political achievements have few rivals in history and whose imperial sway was as extensive as that of Śrī Harṣa or the imperial Guptas.

The history of the Cālukyas was in fact only the last act of the magnificent drama of Gūrjaradeśa the beginning of which must be placed in the early sixth century of the Christian era. This old Gūrjaradeśa as a geographical unit consisted of Rajputana, Malva and Gujarat and was from Vedic times inhabited by a homogeneous people.

This also involved a re-examination of the theory of immigration of Gūrjaras on which BHAGWANLAL and JACKSON had set the seal of their immense weight. The underlying assumption of early foreign scholars, which even Indian scholars have inherited, obscured the view that the central fact of Indian History was India and not any specific associations of, or conquests by, foreigners. This was largely due to a partiality for the annals of outside countries, which give to the history of this country the appearance of a series of achievements of those, who claim to have conquered it as described by their own admiring authors, who were lucky enough to have their writings preserved or had cultivated the art of writing ancient history. This outlook, I felt, distorted the perspective on this period of Indian history more than any other.

These considerations compelled me to revise the whole scheme of history and to begin from the beginning of the organic period, which, I found, could be laid a little after 500 A.C., when Haricandra, the Pratihāra, became the ruler of Gūrjaradeśa and entered upon a widespread conquest which ended with Karṇa Vāghelā under whom the power of Gūrjaradeśa was finally lost. The history of this organic period began with the upsurgence of the people who inhabited Rajputana, Malva and modern Gujarat, and reached its imperial stature more than once between 725 and 1200 A.C. Dynastic changes, alterations in the boundaries of empires and shifting of capitals, during this period, are insufficient to justify the splitting up of this period. Māgha who composed *Śiśupālavadha* at Bhinnamāla, the capital of Gūrjaradeśa in the 6th or 7th century A.C., was the literary ancestor in the direct line of Someśvara the author of *Ullāgharāghava* and *Kīrtikaumudī* in the 13th century A.C.

Another difficulty then presented itself. The beginnings of Gūrjaradeśa were laid on the background created by imperial Magadha. Even the political history of Gūrjaradeśa from 500 to 1300 A.C. would be inadequate without appreciating what the people of Gūrjaradeśa were, what they stood for, and what they developed. Mihira Bhoja the Great, Bhoja the Magnificent, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, upheld *dharma* which represented a living tradition and social organisation and it became necessary to provide an introductory background to the period. It was therefore decided to enlarge the scheme by taking up the earliest possible threads, and dividing the history into four parts :

I. Pre-historical, i.e., from the early Aryan associations with the West Coast to about the end of the epic period or rather the death of Śri Kṛṣṇa.

II. The period of Aryan expansion and consolidation from c 1000 B.C. to 550 A.C. During 1200 years of this period Pāṭaliputra was the imperial capital of India. During these centuries Magadha, the home-land of imperial power in the country, was governed by the Śiśunāgas, Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and after an interval by the Guptas, and reached out to the frontier provinces which included the colonies of the West Coast.

III. The period of the Imperial Gūrjaras from 550 to 1300 A.C.

IV. Social and Cultural.

This volume deals with the pre-historic period. The third, dealing with the Imperial Gūrjaras, will follow immediately. Volume II and Volume IV are under preparation and will follow later.

In this volume Prof. G. N. WADIA has contributed a valuable introductory article on Geology and Dr. H. D. SANKALIA on 'The Pre- and Proto-History of Gujarat.' Dr. A. D. PUSALKAR'S contribution is a thorough and brilliant survey of the Yādavas. My own contribution deals with that highly controversial subject, the Home and the international contacts of the early Aryans, during a period of time anterior to the Vedic period which I have already dealt with in my book, *Early Aryans in Gujarat*, published by the University of Bombay. It is written only as a new point of view ; not a complete monograph ; a speculation, not history.

I must take this opportunity of thanking all those who have helped me in editing this work. Acarya Jinavijayaji MUNI and Shri Durgashanker SHASTRI with their life-work have rendered me every assistance. Being occupied with several other activities I had appointed an editorial sub-committee to do the detailed work of editing, consisting of Dr. A. D. PUSALKAR, Head of the Sanskrit Dept., Prof. S. D. GYANI, Professor of Indian History and Ancient Culture, and Prof. Yashwant SHUKLA, Professor in Gujarati at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. They have spared neither time nor energy in bringing this part to the requisite standard of uniformity and accuracy. Thanks are also due to Shri H. C. BHAYANI, Reader in the Sanskrit Dept., for preparing the index of this volume, and Shri T. K. Krishnaswamy for assisting in the correction of the proofs.

I also acknowledge with gratitude the help which Dr. PUSALKAR and Prof. Yashwant SHUKLA have rendered me personally in verifying the footnotes of my section in this volume and seeing the MSS through the Press.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
6th Foundation Day
Kārtikī Pūrṇimā, V.S. *2000.*

K. M. MUNSHI

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute

AB or Ait. Brā. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

AI Ancient India, by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy AIYANGAR

AIHT Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. PARGITER

Ār. Āraṇyaka

Arth. Arthaśāstra by Kauṭilya. Ed. R. Shama SASTRI

AS Aitihāsika Saṁśodhana, (in Gujarati) by D. K. SHASTRI

ASR Archæological Survey Report

ASWI Archæological Survey of Western India

AV Atharvaveda

Bd. or Brahmāṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa

BDCRI Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute

BG Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I

Bhg. Bhāgavata Purāṇa

Br. Brahma Purāṇa

Brā. Brāhmaṇa

Bṛh. Bṛhadāraṇyaka

BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies

CAI Chronology of Ancient India, by Dr. S. N. PRADHAN

CHI Cambridge History of India, Ed E. J. RAPSON

Cat. Catalogue

DKA Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F. E. PARGITER

EAG Early Aryans in Gujarata, by K. M. MUNSHI

EHD Early History of the Deccan, by R. G. BHANDARKAR

EHVS Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect

EI Epigraphica Indica

ERE Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

Fur. Exc. Further Excavations in the Indus Valley, by Ernest MACKAY

G. Gṛhya

GBS Gaekwad Baroda Series

GEI Great Epic of India

GJ The Geographical Journal

GSQ Forbes Gujarati Sabha Quarterly

Hari Harivaṁśa

HHW Historian's History of the World

HIL History of Indian Literature

IA The Indian Antiquary

IC Indian Culture

IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly

Jai. Jaiminīya

JAS Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBBRAS Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JBORS Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

JCOI Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute

JGRS Journal of the Gujarat Research Society

JIH Journal of Indian History

JISOA Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art

JMGA Journal of the Madras Geographical Association

JOR Journal of Oriental Research

JRAI Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

JRASB Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

Kau. Kauśika

Kauś. Kauśitaki

Lg. Liṅga Purāṇa

Manu Manusmṛti

Mārkaṇḍeya Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa

MASI Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India

Matsya Matsya Purāṇa

Mbh. Mahābhārata

MIC Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation

NR New Review

NUJ Nagpur University Journal

OC Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference

ORLI Outline of the Religious Literature of India

OST Original Sanskrit Texts

Padma Padma Purāṇa

PBCK Prācīna Bhāratavarṣīya Caritra Kośa, by Siddheshvar Shastri CHITRAV

PHAI Political History of Ancient India

PMI Pre-Muśalman India, Vol. II, Pt. I, by V. RANGACHARYA

Pañ Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa

PPL Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa

Rām. Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki

RI Religions of India

RV Ṛgveda

Ś Śrauta

Saṁ Saṁhitā

Śat. Śatapatha

SBE Sacred Books of the East

SC Science and Culture

Sū. or Sūt. Sūtra

Taitt. Taittirīya

Up. Upaniṣad

Vāyu Vāyu Purāṇa

V. I. Vedic Index

VS Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.

CHAPTER I

GEOLOGY OF GUJARAT

IT is a truism that the course of human history in a region is largely shaped by its physical and geographical features which, in turn, in the ultimate, are determined by the geological history the region has passed through in the dim vista of geological time. The wide expanse of flat alluvial plains of high fertility, watered by perennial rivers under a mild and genial climate; the long gentle and shelving coast-line of a hospitable sea affording a number of safe anchorages; the absence of rugged rock terrains or sandy desert wastes such as those that surround it on the East and North; the presence of a sheltered bay swept by unfailing periodic monsoons, are all physiographic features impressed upon Gujarat by the course of geological events it has passed through. All these made Gujarat an exceedingly delectable place for early man to settle in and a highly favoured habitation for several primitive races, thousands of years before the dawn of civilisation, or the earliest beginnings of recorded history. But in comparison with even this distant date, according to standards of human history, the geological beginnings of Gujarat date back to an antiquity of which it is difficult to give a concept save in terms of astronomical figures of years.

I

It will conduce to simplicity of treatment and clear understanding if the area of Mahā-Gujarat, encompassed in the present publication, is dealt with in three sections, based on the natural physiographic divisions of this part of Western India. Gujarat in *sensu stricto* is an arbitrary political or administrative unit and has no geographic individuality; but Gujarat with Kathiawar and Cutch and its northern prolongation to Palanpur, where it imperceptibly passes into Southern Rajputana, has a strongly marked geological and physiographic unity. In its physical evolution this land-mass has behaved as one unit of Western India with characteristics and features remarkably distinct from the hinterland to the east, from Udaipur in the north to the Sahyadris of Nasik on the south. These divisions are :—

(1) The Plains of Gujarat : The level stretch of alluvial country, of the shape of a triangle with its apex near Daman and expanding northwards with a broadening base reaching nearly 100 miles from the eastern border of Cutch to the Aravallian foot-hills. The Rann of Cutch falls naturally into this division.

(2) The rocky terrain of North-West Gujarat covering the whole of Kathiawar and Cutch : Large areas of the rocky surface of this part of Gujarat are submerged under Sub-Recent deposits of the Gulfs of Cambay and Cutch, the Rann of Cutch being a more or less silted up prolongation

of the latter gulf. These gulfs are comparatively of late geological origin being an inlet of the Arabian Sea inundating low-lying portions in late Tertiary time.

(3) The hinterland of elevated country to the east (composed of the ancient rocks of Aravallian foot-hills in the north, the rugged out-liers of the Satpura Range in Rewa Kantha and of the straggling hillocks of the Sahyadri range in the south): This part of Gujarat has neither the homogeneity nor the continuity of the two preceding tracts, being built of an assortment of geological formations of various ages and rock-types.

II

We shall now consider the general geology of these three areas, their rock systems, the remains of ancient vegetable or animal life preserved in them as fossils, their age, and the mineral resources associated with them.

In the following table is given in systematic order the succession of the geological formations of the whole of Gujarat, commencing with the oldest system at the base. It shows that out of the 17 standard periods of geology recognised in the world, the representative rock-formations of only 8 periods are present, the remaining being altogether absent. Of the eight periods again many are very fragmentarily represented, for only a part of the rock-sequence belonging to a particular system of strata is present, the remaining part being more or less obscure or illegible. The geological record of Gujarat, in common with many other parts of India, is thus very imperfect, there being numerous big gaps or *lacunae* in the succession of rock strata (unconformities). These breaks include the entire Palæozoic group of strata, comprising six systems of geology, and a large part of the Mesozoic group. The primitive Archæan systems and the comparatively recent systems belonging to the Tertiary or Caniozoic era, the third and last division of geological time, are fairly fully developed and form the materials for our study. We might compare the geological record as preserved in Gujarat to a manuscript of History out of which whole chapters and sections dealing with dynasties, or groups of dynasties, have been torn out, some others mutilated or damaged, with but a few chapters or passages left decipherable.

TABLE OF GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS OF GUJARAT

Geological Periods.	*Rock Formations.*
Sub-Recent and Post-Tertiary	*Alluvium* of modern rivers; black cotton and other soils of Southern Gujarat; Kankar; *laterite*; gravel beds. Estuarine and gulf deposits of North Gujarat between Baroda—Ahmedabad and Eastern Kathiawar. Human relics of stone, metal and bone.

Geological Periods.	*Rock Formations.*
Pliocene	Coastal deposits of Kathiawar; *Dwarka* beds; *Porbunder* beds; *Perim* Island *Siwaliks*. Fossil ruminants, elephants, pigs, carnivore etc. Mammals.
Eocene and Oligocene	*Nummulitics* of Surat and Broach, 1,000′ thick overlaid by 4,000′ of gravel and clay beds; the Ratanpur conglomerate of agate pebbles. Nummulitics of the Gulf of Cambay near Baroda and Bhavnagar hidden under the Alluvium. Oil-forming conditions; Fossil sea-shells of Molluscs, foraminifera, corals. The *Deccan Trap*—Volcanic series covering the mainland of Kathiawar and the Eastern fringe of Gujarat; Sahyadri and Satpura outliers. Pavaghar and Girnar complexes of ingenious volcanic rocks.
Cretaceous	*Lameta beds*—gritty silicious limestones and sandstones occurring at the base of the traps near Dohad, Baria, Balasinor, Lunawada and Panch Mahals. A few fossils of extinct land reptiles, turtles and fish. *Bagh beds*—richly fossiliferous limestones and sandstones, only 60-70′ thick, representing an inroad of the sea down the Narbada valley, occurring at Jhabwa, Alirajpur, Chhota Udaipur, Rewa Kantha. Numerous fossil molluscs, ammonites, corals, etc. *Nimar* and *Ahmednagar*. Sandstone of Lr. Cretaceous containing fossil plants—dicotyledons.
Gondwana	At Dhrangadhra and Wadhwan, Bhuj and *Umia*—soft white sandstones containing ferns, cycads and conifers of Jurassic (*Umia*) age. Successors of the rich coal vegetation of Bengal and Bihar coal-fields. Marine Jurassics of Cutch. Unconformity.
Archæozoic	*Delhi System*—quartzites of the Alwar group found in the Idar State, east of Idar. *Aravalli System*—of Southern Rajputana, Mt. Abu, Rewa Kantha and Champener. Composed of varied assemblage of slates, schists, metamorphic rocks, limestones, marble, representative of the Dharwar System of South India—economically productive horizon carrying the metals, valuable minerals, gems, etc. *Fundamental Gneiss*—the basal complex composed of the most ancient rocks of the crust-banded gneisses with intrusive granite and pegmatites. These rocks are wholly unfossiliferous and devoid of any undoubted evidences of life.

III

The Plains of Gujarat : These alluvial plains, though of great interest and importance from the human standpoint, as the source of the great agricultural wealth of the Province, are of little geological interest. They are built up of horizontally bedded layers of river-borne sediments spread over a broad surface and composed of silt, sand and clay with some calcareous matter in the form of *kankar* reaching a thickness up to some hundreds of feet. These river deposits are very much the same as those laid down by modern rivers during monsoon floods on their banks and flood-plains. They have completely buried the old land surface occupied by rocks of various geological ages. To compare geological history with human history the Gujarat alluvium can be said to be the annals of the age of Queen Victoria. The alluvium is thickest on the sea margin, tailing off toward the east. It is probable that the alluvium is a mixture of river and estuarine deposits the work of numerous transverse streams flowing from the east. It is also believed that a considerable proportion of marine littoral deposits have locally mingled with the river and estuarine sediments. The soil capping the alluvium is generally a light sandy loam of high fertility. The geological structure of the sub-soil again favours the storing of considerable volume of under-ground water easily drawn upon by ordinary wells, tube wells and artesian wells. Among the soils of Gujarat special mention must be made of the remarkable black cotton soil or *regur*. Regur is highly argillaceous, somewhat calcareous, very fine-grained black soil. It is extremely sticky when wetted and has a capacity for retaining a large proportion of its moisture for a long time. Among its accessory constituents are a high percentage of iron oxide, calcium and magnesium carbonates, the former disseminated as *kankar*, and a very varying admixture of organic matter, humus, ranging from one, to as much as ten per cent. It is probably owing to its iron and humus content that the prevailing dark, often black, colour is due. The black cotton soil is credited with an extraordinary degree of fertility ; it is, in some cases, known to have supported agriculture for centuries without manuring or being left fallow, and with no apparent sign of exhaustion or impoverishment.

As mentioned before, the alluvial plains attenuate to a narrow belt before disappearing near Bulsar, but to the north, they broaden out in a wide expanse. There is over a hundred miles of alluvial country between Baroda and Bhavnagar and between Wadhwan and Godhra. North of Ahmedabad the character of the alluvium undergoes a change of composition becoming more sandy with each mile of the country, until, north of Palanpur, it partakes more and more of the character of the barren, sandy country on the south edge of Rajputana. North-west of Viramgam increasing salinity is perceived till the Gujarat alluvium totally loses its character and merges into the wide depression of saline mud, the Rann of Cutch. The Rann is a saline marshy plain scarcely above the sea level, dry at one part

of the year and covered by water at the other part. It was once an inlet of the Arabian Sea, which has now been silted up by the enormous volume of detritus poured into it by the small rivers discharging from the east and the north-east. From November to March, the period of the north-east or retreating monsoons, the Rann is a barren tract of dry salt-encrusted mud, presenting aspects of almost inconceivable desolation.

There is no doubt that the Gulf of Cutch once received the discharge of the great river Indus in pre-historic times. That the Indus was once flowing to the sea by a channel that was far to the east of its present mouth is a well ascertained fact of ancient Indian geography. It is after the westerly deflection of the Indus that the silting up of the Gulf of Cutch has become more accentuated. Its southern part gradually deteriorated and ultimately disappeared leaving a low marshy tract connecting Ahmedabad and Kathiawar, including the *Nal*—a large shallow brackish-water lake some twenty miles long by two or three miles broad. Once a land-locked remnant of the Bay of Cutch, the Nal lake is being gradually freshened. A submergence of the land here, of less than 50 feet would isolate Cutch and Kathiawar completely to-day from the main land, as they were, as a matter of fact, up to so late as the beginning of the Pleistocene period.

IV

The Rock Systems of Kathiawar and Cutch : This portion of Gujarat is quite unlike the last, as its surface is occupied by rocks constituting the records of six distinct systems of geology commencing with the jurassic period of the Mesozoic era. These rocks furnish evidences of a wonderful series of geographic revolutions—of uplifts and submergences of land and of alternations of long marine periods, during which this part of India was covered under the waters of the sea during three different periods. The oldest rocks exposed in Kathiawar belong to the *Upper Gondwana system* of the Indian geological sequence, of Jurassic age. These rocks are of great interest as they are the relics of an old vast Indo-African-Australian continent, of which Gujarat with the rest of India formed an insignificant portion. This continent persisted as an important feature of the world's geography from the Upper Carboniferous age to the end of the Jurassic. The evidence on which geologists have postulated this great southern-world continent, known as Gondwana land, are so weighty and so many sided that its existence is accepted by the geologists of the world, though the details of its boundaries, its climate, the luxuriant vegetation and the land animals it supported are yet matters of some controversy. The Gondwana land was populated by plants and animals of rather lowly organisation but of great diversity, though belonging to species wholly different from their present-day descendants. Man, mammals, the higher vertebrates and the higher orders of plants were still absent from the world of that day. The Gondwana period of India, as well as of Africa and Australia was, however, especially distin-

guished by the great luxuriance of vegetation covering the land surface. The debris of thousands of generations of this rich vegetation has been collected in a few favourable basins in Central and Eastern India and from this accumulated pile of Gondwana vegetation have arisen the coal-fields of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Central India, which to-day supply India with 30 million tons of coal annually. The representatives of the Gondwana rock-systems of Gujarat are met with in small patches of soft sandstones near Dhrangadhra and Wadhwan and in a broad band between Bhuj and Umia in Cutch, containing fossilised remains of ferns, pines and cycads, the successors of the orders of plants which gave rise to the coal of Raniganj and Jheria. These belong to the later part of the Gondwana age, when the tide of vegetation was already on the decline and the Gondwana cycle of events was passing away. A succession of climates from the arctic cold of the polar regions to desertic conditions of the equator have left their marks in the rock-beds of this system and in the fossils preserved in them.

A parallel series of strata but covering a larger section of Jurassic time is met with in Cutch in a broad band of marine sandstones and limestones, over 6,000 feet thick, containing a wonderful abundance of fossil sea animals of the class of cephalopods (ammonites). No less than 6,000 species of ammonites have been identified which show no affinities with the Jurassic of the Himalaya or other Northern regions but present distinct affinities with the Jurassic fauna of Madagascar. This Jurassic development, which covers several hundred sq. miles of Cutch and spreads over a large area of Rajputana as far as Jesalmer, presents a highly significant fact as it suggests that the Gujarat coast of the Indo-African continent was washed by a small bay of the Eurasian Sea of the north which extended along the Equator from the present Mediterranean to the heart of China. This was the sea on the bed of which were being laid down, during a long succession of ages, the materials of the future Alps and the Himalaya mountains.

Representatives of the Gondwana rock-system in Gujarat are devoid of coal or other economic mineral products, but it is the belief of some geologists that coal-bearing areas of these rocks in Kathiawar lie buried underneath later geological formations. For, the next chapter of Gujarat's geological history ushers in a new state of affairs, like the dynastic changes taking place in human history. This new chapter opened with another inroad of the Eurasian Sea from the north penetrating over Cutch and Kathiawar, deep into the valley of the Narbada. The chronicles of this age are preserved in the series of rocks known under the name of *Nimar* and *Ahmednagar* sandstones, *Bagh* and *Lameta beds*, and are found in one or two outcrops in Cutch and near Wadhwan, but in a number of scattered patches at Jhabwa, Alirajpore, Chhota Udaipur and Rewa Kantha. These belong to the Cretaceous period, a fact ascertained by the study of the fossilised plants and animal remains that are found buried in the original sands, clays, and limestones laid down in the bed of the sea, or in the estuary which succeeded it.

Though only a few hundred feet in thickness, these Cretaceous strata constitute a valued episode in Gujarat geology in giving us a glimpse of the geography of the period, of the life that inhabited the seas and lands and of their interconnections with other parts of the world. Mammals and man were still absent from the scene, but a large and varied population of reptiles then inhabited parts of central India and dominated the animal kingdom. These reptiles belong to the class of huge overgrown dinosaurs, crocodiles, iguanodons and lizards, over twelve genera of which have been identified by specialists from districts around Jubbulpore, closely related to species found from rocks of the same geological period in Madagascar, Transvaal, Brazil and Patagonia.

The next period brought a total change of the scene in Gujarat and the whole Western India from South Rajputana to Dharwar and from Kathiawar to Nagpur was transformed into a region of volcanic fires. A volcanic cycle then prevailed in full force and thousands of feet of lava (of a type erupted by Vesuvius and Etna) were poured out from the bowels of the earth in flat sheets ; these rose to a pile aggregating 6,000 feet in height completely burying the land-surface. The shores of Gujarat then stretched far westwards and it is probable that the old connections with East Africa and Madagascar, across the Arabian Sea, was not yet fully severed. Our Satpura outliers, Sahyadri range, Girnar and Pawagadh hills and 7/8 of the area of Kathiawar, now centres of peaceful industry and agriculture, are merely the few weathered remnants of that volcanic deposit cut out by the natural denuding agents from the vast plateau of lava-flows, known in geology as the *Deccan Trap* series.

The greater part of the volcanic terrain of Kathiawar is not covered by any later geological formation than soils. A few insignificant patches of *Nummulitic* rocks (described below) occur in Kathiawar along the coasts and on a somewhat larger scale in Cutch. The character and composition of this series will be described in the next section.

The next formations of note in this part of Gujarat are the strips of later Tertiary rocks fringing the coasts overlying the rocks just described and recognised under the name of *Dwarka beds*. These in turn are overlaid by still younger Tertiary sandstone strata containing remains of pigs, goats, rhinoceros, mastodon. The best studied outlier of these rocks is in the Perim Island in the Cambay Gulf. A still newer formation on the Kathiawar coast known as the Porbunder stone consists partly of calcareous wind-blown sand and partly of a marine shelly lime-stone, 100 to 200 feet thick. Since its formation the Kathiawar peninsula has risen over 100 feet above the sea. This formation is of economic importance as it yields a handsome and easily dressable free-stone much in demand for architectural and building purposes.

We now turn to the remaining tract of Gujarat forming the Eastern

hinterland. It is a variable strip of territory rising above the alluvial plains all along their inland margin, from the foot of Mt. Abu, sweeping southwards through Kapadwanj, Godhra, Bodeli to as far as the Indore State border and then turning seaward to Nandod, Songarh, Dharampore and closing in on to the sea border near Bulsar.

V

Geology of Eastern Gujarat : The rocks which compose this part of Gujarat are those which form the very basement or cores of all the continents and on which Gujarat and the rest of India are built in the course of time. They are some of the most ancient rocks of the earth's crust and belong to the most primitive era of geology—the *Archæan.* They are a complex of crystalline massive rocks of the type of granites. On this foundation (which may in part at least represent the first-formed crust of our earth by the cooling of the primitive molten planet) were laid down deposits of the sea which in course of ages overspread the whole area from Rajputana to Ceylon. The remnants of this ancient sea sediments are to-day seen, but in a greatly altered and mutilated form, in southern Rajputana, Mt. Abu, Rewa Kantha and Champaner, composed of crystalline slates, sandstone and marbles. These rocks of hoary antiquity belong to what is termed the *Dharwar System* of Indian geology. They are of great economic importance, as in several parts of India they are the repositories of many useful minerals, ores of iron, manganese, chromium, copper, gold, lead, gems and semi-precious stones, and constitute generally the most productive rock-system in India. Gujarat's share in this mineral wealth is not considerable, but samples of it are to be seen in the Shivrajpur manganese mines and in the quarries of beautiful green marble of Motipura. The world of the Archæan period was an entirely different world, in which none of the familiar land-marks of the present day were in existence ; not only was there no man, but save possibly for some microscopic forms of lowly life, there were no organised plants or animals ; even the composition of the air and the sea was materially different and unfavourable to living beings. According to one view life had not yet originated on our planet in the Archæan.

These foundation rocks are developed on a vast scale in the Deccan Peninsula, Rajputana and part of the Himalayas. It was on the foundation of these rocks that the Gondwana group mentioned above was deposited in a chain of basins. No Gondwanas are met with in eastern Gujarat ; the formations next in the order of age after the Archæans, and which they overlie with a great regional unconformity, being the few isolated patches of marine Cretaceous strata—the *Nimar, Ahmednagar, Bagh,* and *Lameta series* described in the above paragraphs. These are found mostly along the valley of the Narbada and extend northwards to beyond Balasinor. South of the Narbada valley there extends the great outcrop of the volcanic series (*Deccan Trap*)—a series of horizontally-bedded lava flows which cover large

tracts of Bombay Presidency, Central India and Central Provinces. Though economically speaking a barren formation in itself, these volcanic rocks yield on decomposition a fertile soil, they being, according to some theories, the source material of the black cotton soil. The handsome agates, carnelians, jaspers, heliotropes, for which Gujarat was once famous as a trade centre, are the infillings of the steam-holes and cavities of these ancient lava beds which are liberated on the denudation of the parent rocks.

VI

Following these, the next formation to be observed in the geological records of Gujarat is a group of marine limestones and clays, full of sea-shells (*Nummulites*), the product of yet another invasion of the sea from the western fringe of Gujarat. These are about 1,000 feet thick, overlaid by 4,000 feet of gravelly clay beds, reminders that the sea was only coastal and was fast shallowing before its final retreat from the Gujarat area. The Cambay lapidaries obtained their raw agates by mining them from these gravels near Ratanpur. This is the last marine period in the history of Gujarat and since its emergence it has remained a land area inhabited by wonderfully diverse races of elephants, ruminants, deer, giraffes, pigs and carnivores. Man had not yet appeared on the stage in any part of the world.

The Nummulitic formation is developed in Surat and Broach districts and also in some obscure strata on either side of the Gulf of Cambay. This is a circumstance of considerable significance and of some possible future economic value, as the Nummulitic series forms the chief petroleum-bearing group of strata in Assam, Burma, Punjab and Sind. Beyond, however, some natural gas-seepages in Baroda and Gogha, so far no indications of workable oil deposits have been known.

VII

With the end of the *Nummulitic period* of the Tertiary era in Gujarat it may be said that the curtain was rung down on the main drama of its geological history. By now India was completely severed from its African connections, the Arabian Sea had come into being and the first phase of the uplift of the Himalayas was about to begin through upheavals of the earth's crust which lifted the bottom of the central Eurasian sea. With the trifling exception of some coastal deposits round Kathiawar, *Dwarka* and the *Perim* Island *Siwalik beds* which contain the petrified remains of mammoths and several highly vigorous and diversified races of bowine cattle, giraffes, rhinoceros and pigs, all subsequent formations are of post-Tertiary age. These are only surface accumulation of Sub-Recent period—the yester-year and yesterday of geological time—formed by various agencies such as sub-aerial weathering and decomposition of rocks, action of rain, rivers, etc. to form soils, river-terraces, flood plains, gravel beds. But these post-Tertiary formations, though of no great geological antiquity, are of the highest interest

ગુજરાતી સાહિત્ય પરિષદ પુસ્તકાલય
અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૯

from the point of view of human origins. It is in this group of deposits that vestiges of primitive Man are found—his tools, rudely fashioned knives, scrapers, arrows, axes made out of stone, or bronze, or bone. The Gujarat Research Society has lately lent a helping hand in bringing to light a highly interesting site containing such human implements from the foot of a terrace in the Sabarmati valley, a site which has yielded a remarkably fine series of *Palæolithic* and *Neolithic* implements of the early man of Gujarat.

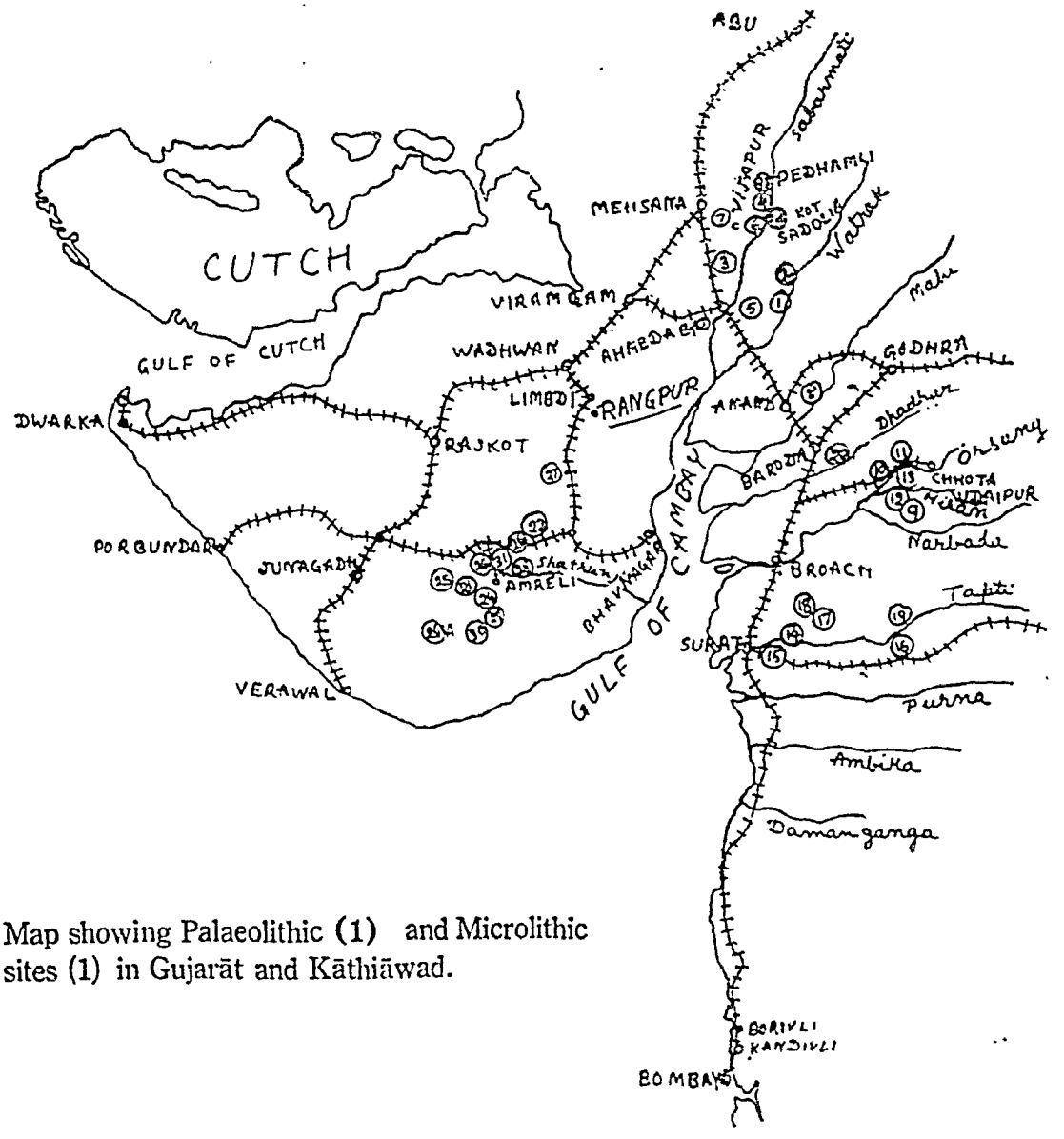
The black cotton and other soils, the sands and saline mud of the Rann we have considered in the earlier section are products of this late age. They have buried deep underneath them the older geological formations of Gujarat proper, which once formed a continuous rock-terrain connecting the Gujarat hinterland with Cutch-Kathiawar. To this age also belong the river-terraces of the north Gujarat rivers, the thick wind-carried deposits of extremely fine pale brown mud, *loess* excavated into 100 to 200 feet deep ravines bordering the Mahi and Sabarmati system of valleys, the laterite caps, gravels, sand-dunes and the raised beaches which fringe the coasts of Kathiawar, etc. The Sub-Recent silting up of the Cambay and Cutch Gulfs has added a considerable stretch of new land to the area of Gujarat since the days when these gulfs received the discharge of the pre-historic Indus river of Sind. Compared to the wanderings of the Indus and its fitful history during later geological times the channels of the rivers of Gujarat are of remarkable stability and antiquity. It is a notable fact that the Gujarat rivers have no delta at their mouths, which are of the nature of broad and shallow estuaries swept by the tides. This circumstance is accounted for by the heavy monsoon seas and tidal currents sweeping our coasts for many months in the year and not allowing the sediments discharged by the rivers to accumulate at their debouchers.

Here we reach the limits of the geological history of Gujarat. Further inquiry lies in the domain of archæology, anthropology and pre-history. When Gujarat emerged at the end of the Tertiary or Cainozoic era (the age of Mammals) at the dawn of the Pleistocene epoch into the age of Man, it was a land-area eminently fitted in its physical setting and biological environments for the spread and development of the new and most highly developed mammal, Man. The silting up of gulfs and river channels at some places and their deepening at other places, a few great earthquakes of the type of the Cutch earthquake of 1819, some minor uplifts or depressions of the land and oscillations of the sea-level such as those suggested by the upraised beaches, the coral reefs and oyster banks of Kathiawar and the submerged forest near Bombay, are the only geological phenomena to be recorded since the coming of man in Gujarat.

CHAPTER II

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORY OE GUJARAT

THE first traces of pre- and proto-historic Gujarat were revealed exactly 50 years ago. In 1893 Bruce FOOTE, a retired geologist of the Government of India, then prospecting the Baroda territory on behalf of that State, found in the bed[1] of the river Sabarmati, opposite the village of Saḍolia, two stone artefacts, and one in a similar position at Pedhāmli. These two sites, the first, called locally Koṭ-Anoḍia, and in the Survey Map 1″=1 mile as Koṭ, lie on the right bank of the river and form a part of the Vijapur Taluka of



Map showing Palaeolithic (1) and Microlithic sites (1) in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwad.

1 "3248 lay at the bottom of a little gully, only a few yards from the edge of the water". R. B. FOOTE, *IPPA, Notes on their Ages and Distribution*. Madras, 1916, 15. See also his *GBS*, 86-87.

the State. From Vijapur, the chief town of the taluka, these places are situated at a distance of 8 miles south-east by south and 13 miles to the north-east respectively.

FOOTE exhibited these stones to the Geological section of the British Association at Oxford. They were acclaimed as genuine artefacts by leading prehistorians of the time.[2]

What were these artefacts and why were they declared as witnesses of prehistoric Gujarat ?

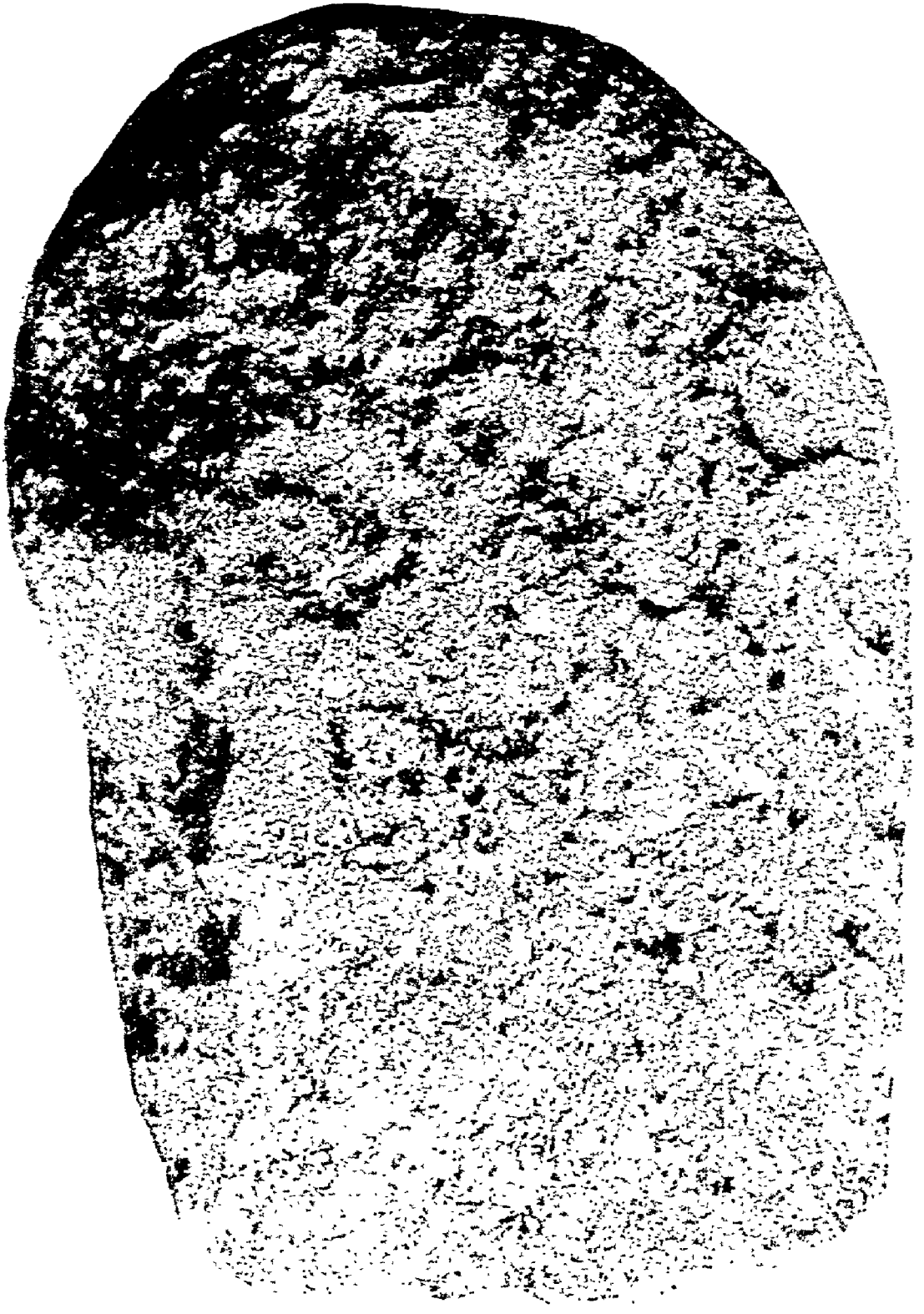
I

Of the two specimens from Koṭ-Saḍolia, one[3] (No. 3248 of the FOOTE Collection in the Madras Government Museum) is an U-shaped hand-axe, about 7 inches long (6×4×2, according to FOOTE) and a little over 4 inches broad, made out of a coarse, gritty, pinkish white quartzite pebble. It is fresh and sharp, little weather-or water-worn, indicating that it was embedded in the river-gravel, soon after it was manufactured and had not travelled far from its place of manufacture. Unlike the ordinary stone hand-axes, which are usually convex at both ends or convex at the butt-end and pointed at the other, this axe has a rounded butt-end, and the opposite end has a sloping straight edge. The upper surface is flaked principally on the edge around, leaving the central portion intact. The under surface is practically smooth, with a slight trimming on the two longer sides. In preparing this implement its maker seems to have used great care and skill, and the sharp, neat, edge around was obtained by what is known as 'step', 'controlled' or 'resolved' flaking. That is, instead of flaking 'freely', 'away from the centre of the stone, out into the open space', the blow was given rather slowly 'inwards, towards the thickness of its substance', so that only a small portion was removed from the stone, and the flake scar showed, as it were, a sort of a 'step'.

The other specimen,[4] No. 3247, whose discovery and existence have not been evalued by FOOTE himself and others, is a small flake, perhaps used as a scraper, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, made out of red, fine-grained quartzite pebble. It is subtriangular in shape, with the longer ends convex, and sides bulging out. The lower side is the primary flaked surface, with a fine bulb of percussion at one end. The upper side is chipped, probably by 'step' technique and shows three gently sloping platforms.

The find from Pedhāmli,[5] No. 3309 is a pointed oval hand-axe, about 6 inches long and 3 inches broad, made out of coarse, gritty quartzite. Much water-and weather-worn, it is now brownish in colour and has lost the sharpness of its edge which was around the implement, neat and regular, with a slice cut off at the butt end.

[2] FOOTE, *IPPA*, 142, n. 1.
[3] See Fig. I(*a*) and (*b*).
[4] See Fig. II(*a*) and (*b*).
[5] See Fig. III.



(FIG. I A)

UPPER SURFACE—Cleaver of 'Madras Type'. Hand-axe found in 1893, at Koṭ on the Sabarmati.

Courtesy : Government Museum, Madras.



(FIG. I B)

UNDER SURFACE—Cleaver of 'Madras Type'. Hand-axe found in 1893, at Kot on the Sabarmati.

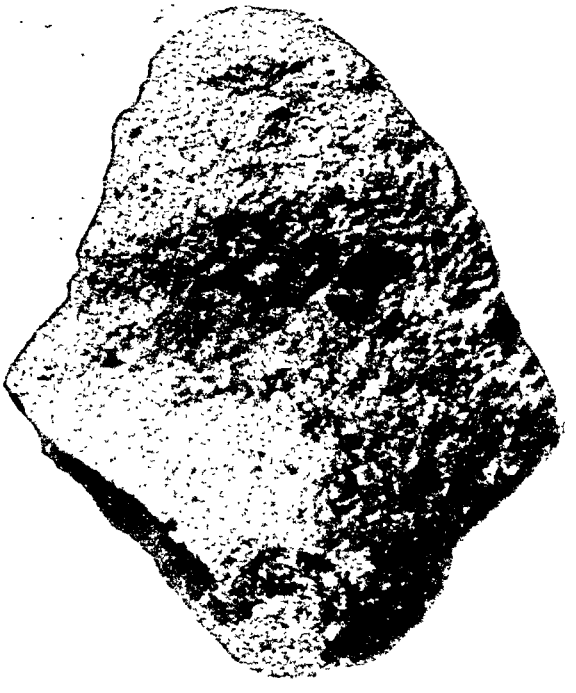
Courtesy : Government Museum, Madras.



(FIG. II A)

UPPER SURFACE—Flake found in 1893, at Koṭ on the Sabarmati.

Courtesy : Government Museum, Madras.



(FIG. II B)

UNDER SURFACE—Flake found in 1893, at Koṭ on the Sabarmati.

Courtesy : Government Museum, Madras.



(FIG. III)

UPPER SURFACE—Rolled, pointed, oval Hand-axe found in 1893 at Pedhāmli, on the Sabarmati.

Courtesy : Government Museum, Madras.

The genuineness of these stones as two types of hand-axes and a kind of flake is undoubted. About their age and original location FOOTE thought that they were not surface specimens, though found so or near the river-bed, but had been washed out of the shingle-bed, low down in the old alluvium of the Sabarmati. He has given a lengthy explanation of this and also illustrated it, which for the purpose of this article need to be further explained in the light of the topographical features of the area in which the finds were made.

Any one who has seen the Sabarmati during its middle course[6] when it enters the Gadhwada Thana, Sabar Kantha Agency, at Hadol, after leaving the Aravalli and its outcrops the Tāranga hills and runs through the Baroda territory, namely the portion of the Kheralu and the whole of the Vijapur taluka and a part of the Sabar Kantha Agency, till it emerges at Delwad in the British territory[7], will be struck at the height of its bank or banks which at places are 100 to 200 feet high and look like cliffs. And not only the banks through which the river runs, but also the surrounding area on the side or sides of these banks are also similarly, deeply cut up into what are known as *kotars* or gullies, each of which must be becoming a petty, fast running rivulet carrying its quota to the river. Some of these are so deep and at the same time broad, that they themselves appear as river-courses. Soon after the rains these tributaries, called *nalās*, dry up and are used as so many highways to the river. How are these banks made so cliff-like? A section of the river-or nala-bank, where it is well-exposed by recent water and weather action explains its composition or construction in nature.

If the bank is 100 feet high at Koṭ or Pedhāmli, for instance, one will

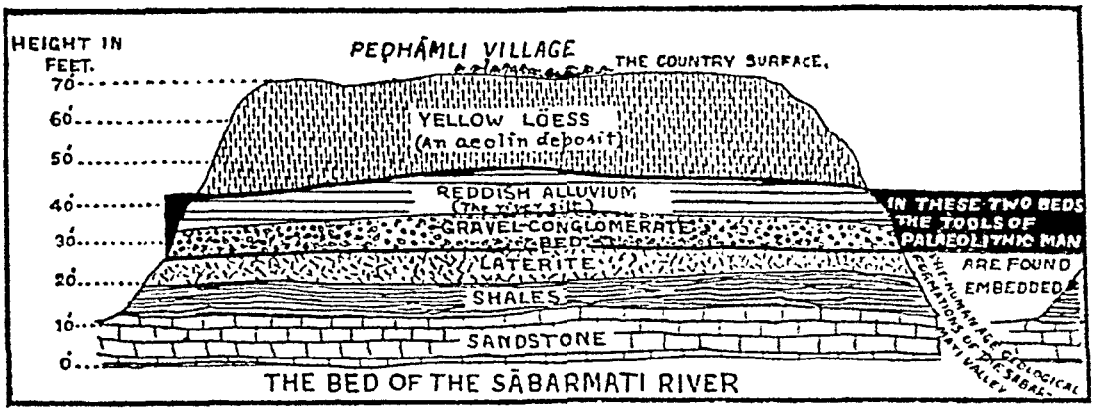


Fig. IV
Diagrammatic Section showing the various layers of the right banks of the Sabarmati at Pedhāmli.

[6] See Survey Map 1″ to a mile, Nos. $46\frac{A}{9}\times13$, $46\frac{A}{10}\times14$, $16\frac{A}{11}\times15$. One of these dealing with the section of the Sabarmati between Pedhāmli in the north and Ghāntu in the south are reproduced from Map. No. $46\frac{A}{10}\times14$. See Fig. V.

[7] *Records, GSI*, Vol. 72 (1937-38) 368.

notice, examining from the top downwards, that the first 30 feet or so are composed of yellowish fine, loamy sand-like earth, called löess. The next 30 feet differ in colour from the first, being brownish or reddish in colour and constitute the older river-silt or alluvium. Below this there is a layer of about 10 feet which is quite dissimilar in colour and composition from the above two, and if freshly exposed will look whitish grey, and made of small pebbles, etc., just like a block of cement concrete. This was called by FOOTE 'shingle' and is now called gravel or pebble conglomerate. The subsequent layers beneath this are a bed of laterite, shales or blue clay (disintegrated shale) and sandstone. We thus reach the present river-bed. Diagrammatically it can be shown thus.[8]

Now the question is how did the gravel or pebble conglomerate come to be formed above the layer of sandstone, shales and laterite, while the river at present is flowing at a depth of about 30 feet from that bed? The explanation is that originally—thousands of years ago—the Sabarmati was flowing at that level and that time heavier deposits, gravel, etc. were deposited first and over that was laid the reddish fine silt. The river could not have flowed at a lower level, because below that depth—shale, sandstone, form what are known as sedimentary rocks; that is these were formed when sea was there in this region, called geologically the Eocence period.[9] Subsequently two changes came over the area. First, the river ceased to deposit its alluvium; instead it began to cut through its bed, through the hard rocks, forming its own foundation and flows approximately at a depth of 30 feet from its original bed. With the cessation of alluvial deposition, other natural agencies—principally wind—began to deposit sand-like earth or loamy sand over the old alluvium. In course of time this wind-deposit grew to a height of 30 feet and now forms the surface soil over the whole of Northern and most of Central Gujarat. Every year this is partly eroded and redeposited by rain, creating *kotars*. Thus the sea, river, wind and rain have been responsible for the high cliff-like banks of the Sabarmati and other rivers in Gujarat.[10]

III

We can now follow FOOTE's conclusion, namely that the artefacts discovered by him had been washed out from the old bed of the Sabarmati and were not of recent origin, though found on the surface of the river-bed. Two reasons had helped him to arrive at this conclusion. First, the fact that such stone implements are not made now-a-days—the stone having gone out of

[8] See Fig. IV.

[9] This is according to FOOTE, *GBS*, 65 ff. But MIDDLEMISS regards them [*Mem. GSI*, XLIV, (1923), 142] as coeval and analogous to that of Songir sandstone and therefore of the marine cretaceous, that is, of a little earlier geological period.

[10] For further details see FOOTE, *GBS* where the geology of parts of Gujarat contained within the Baroda territory are well explained.

use for implement purposes, except for pounding or grinding—and being replaced by metal ; the second was his vast experience gathered in South



Fig. V

Map showing the *kotars* (gullies) and the course of the River Sabarmati during its middle course, between Pedhāmli and Ghāntu.

(Reproduced from the Survey of India MAP No. 46 $\frac{A}{11}$ × 14. Scale 1 inch =1 mile.)

Black lines on either side of the river course indicate deep, lofty gullies. Circles in double lines löess hills, many of which have yielded microliths.

India, where he had found numerous such implements on the surface and even *in situ*. And also the fact that such river-drift implements were discovered in France, England and elsewhere in Europe since 1839. That FOOTE was right has been amply confirmed by the work of the Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition.[11]

If these stones are artefacts—tools and implements—and belong to the period when the river was depositing its gravel on the sea-rocks, then they must have been made by man, who lived on the river-bank, either in the open spaces or some kind of shelter. We cannot say rock-or cave-shelter, for few such exist in Gujarat.[12] So it is difficult to form a definite idea of his habitation. Roots and fruits and animals must have formed his food-supply. But what these were and what was this Early Man himself like, we cannot say until fossil remains of the then contemporary vegetable-flora- and animal-fauna-world constituting the palæo-botanical and-ontological evidence besides the archæological are found. The tools which he has left behind and have survived constitute the palæontological evidence, as Mr. D. N. WADIA, President of the Science Congress last year (1942), remarked when he saw the collection of the Expedition above referred to. When its report will be published we shall be able to know of several other varieties of tools used by the 'first man' in Gujarat.[13]

IV

But the three implements discovered by FOOTE[14] and here described at length for the first time, are indeed characteristic of the Sabarmati industry and its probable relation with the Deccan and South India. In the first place, they are not very crude, as we would expect in very early industry. On the contrary they show a little advanced technique both in the preparation of core-tools, called bifaces and flakes. The former are not only neatly shaped but exhibit what is described before as 'step' or 'controlled' flaking. The latter with its fine bulb of percussion and platforms implies a careful working. And further it appears from the shape of the butt-end, which has a sharp worked edge that this as well as the oval hand-axe were probably hafted (as already suggested by FOOTE),[15] implying an advanced method of

[11] See *SC*, II, 10 (April, 1942), 487; *JGRS*, IV, 144.

[12] FOOTE mentions one such small cave along the right bank of the Sabarmati above Rampur, whereas further to the north we have Arasur, Taranga and other hills. Ridges of the quartzite series, mostly coarse, but some of it fine-grained, situated in the Idar State on either side of the Hathmati, one of the chief tributory of the Sabarmati seem to be the source of the quartzite pebbles, which have been the principal material of Man's tools in this area.

[13] Or in India? as FOOTE thought. Cf. 'who certainly seem to have been the earliest man to appear in what is now India" *IPPA*, 37.

[14] He had found three more at Koṭ-Sadolia and deposited them in the Baroda Museum; but there is no trace of these now.

[15] *GBS*, 87.

use. Such tools in France, where the evolution of the various industries is well worked out, would be classed as Acheulian, forming the last phase of the Early Palæolithic Culture, about 50,000 years ago. This indicates that man in Gujarat had already existed for some centuries, if not for some millennia.

The Sabarmati industry further points to the Gujarat Man's contact with his contemporaries to the South—Konkan, the Deccan and South India. FOOTE had already hinted at it, though perhaps unconsciously, when he described the U-shaped axe, called now the 'cleaver', from Saḍolia as a Madras-type axe.[17] For exactly similar, straight or oblique edged implements he had found from Chingleput District. These are Nos. 2204—7, 8, 9 of the FOOTE Collection in the Madras Museum. Some of these were found *in situ* and clearly show the 'step' technique. Subsequently more of these were found by CAMMAIDE, KRISHNASWAMI and a few by MANLEY and DRUMMOND from other districts of the Madras Presidency.[18] From FOOTE's collection the specimen deserving comparison is No. 2204-7[19] and No. K 5 from KRISHNASWAMI's. The same round butt-end, straight or oblique, sharp edge, and use of step-technique are evident in these finds.

It should also be noted that exactly similar implements have been discovered in South Africa. The writer had an opportunity to examine a few of these in the Madras Museum. The important specimens for our purpose are the first type of cleaver No. 1059/23 and ovate hand-axes, Nos. 1064/39, 1066/39 and 1069/39. Owing to this close typological similarity scholars believe that there might have been a cultural and other contact between South India and South Africa. If this is proved Gujarat's part in it will have also to be considered.

Another fact may also be noted here, namely, that the South African specimens are mostly of quartzite, which in colour and texture is identical with that of Gujarat. This fact is of no small importance as PATERSON has remarked.[20]

V

The work done in the Deccan—Karnatak and Konkan is not much. A few collections were made from the valley of the Malaprabha at Bijapur and elsewhere in the last century by FOOTE and other geologists. TODD with the help of Dr. A. S. KALAPESI of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay has only recently found palæolithic industry at Borivali, Kandivali and other suburbs

[17] FOOTE, *GBS.*, 86; *Cat. Raisonné*, Madras, 1914, 207. Though regarding stratigraphy he said 'We cannot correlate the Sabarmati alluvium with the palæolith bearing lateritic deposits of the East coast and of the Deccan', *IPPA*, 38.

[18] *Antiquity*, IV, 1930, 327ff; and Fig. 3.

"Prehistoric Man Round Madras", 1938, pl. 4 and *JMGA*, XIII, 58-90.

[19] FOOTE, *Ibid.*, 207, *Ibid.*, 149, *IPPA*, pl. 1. [20] *Nature*, July 13, 1940, 49.

of Bombay. A brief comparison with finds from these areas will also be found illuminating. For further systematic work here might supply links in the cultural contact between Gujarat, South India and South Africa.

The Madras Museum has two specimens from Bijapur. No. 2898, a pointed ovate with wavy edge, over 8 inches in length and of buff coloured quartzite resembles a similar implement from South Africa; whereas No. 2896 an ovate hand-axe, about 5½ inches in length has a number of parallels in South India and the one found by FOOTE from Pedhāmli. Cleavers also have been found from the Malaprabha and its tributaries. A number of these are mentioned by Coggin BROWN.[21] Particularly interesting among these is No. 204 and No. 269, both of which are illustrated in pl. III.

Besides the specimens of Bombay (or Konkan) industry published by TODD,[22] there is one specimen, an almost fresh, pear-shaped, light brown quartzite hand-axe with Dr. KALAPESI. This he has kindly lent to the writer for study. It is also closely similar to the Gujarat, South Indian and the Bijapur finds.

The link between Gujarat and South India is postulated merely on typological grounds. It is easily rebutted by saying that similar requirements could give birth to similar products, tools and implements. This is indeed true, but not always. Particularly when it is remembered that the work so far carried out in North India,[23] in the basin of the Sohan, the Indus and other rivers of the Punjab, has not yielded any cleaver of the type discussed above, whereas some early types of cordate or pyriform hand-axes have been found. Hence it is suggested,[24] because of the typological similarity of the Chellean to Late Acheulean hand-axes of Chauntra (on the Sohan in the Punjab) with the early hand-axe technique of Madras.

(ii) wealth of these finds in South India and scarcity in N. India,

(iii) existence of Chellean and Acheulean tools in the Narbada Valley, at Hoshangabad and Narsingpur, in direct association with middle Pleistocene fauna-*Elephas Namadicus* and Hippopotamus—that Early Man travelled from South India northwards—from the tropical regions to the foothills of the Himalayas, whence the great ice-sheet had retreated.

Here is then a possible explanation of the existence of 'man' in Guja-

21 *Cat. of Prehistoric* and *Protohistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 49-57, Nos. 204, 212, 227, 228, 269.

22 TODD, *JRAI*, LXIX, 1939, 257-72. The earliest traces of Konkan palæolithic (?) industries have been noticed by Fred SWYNNERTON in an article called "Rude Stone Implements from Back Bay, Middle Colaba, Bombay", *JAS* III, (1892-94) 189-197. Before him SINCLAIR had published a paper "Flint Remains in the Kolaba District" in the same journal, vol. II, 75-79.

23 See De TERRA and PATTERSON, *The Ice Age and other Associated Human Cultures*, Washington, 1939.

24 De TERRA, 'Siwaliks and Early Man', in *Early Man*, Ed. by G. MACCURDY, New York, 1937.

rat, say 50,000 years ago. He might have migrated there from South India, bringing with him the earliest Stone Age Culture.

We may accept this hypothesis of an eminent geologist and a student of prehistory for what it is worth. Before proving, rejecting or modifying it a great deal of work remains to be done in Gujarat and other parts of India. The Watrak, the Hathmati and the upper reaches of the Sabarmati beyond Hadol and other smaller rivers, the Arjuni, the Kuraka, the Saraswati, west of Sudasna ; the Harnav, the Kusumbi in the Idar State and the Banas in the Palanpur State in North Gujarat ; the Mahi in Central ; the Tapti and the Purna in Southern Gujarat need to be systematically surveyed. The gully system of the Watrak and the Mahi particularly are identical with that of the Sabarmati as the One-inch to a Mile Survey Maps so admirably show. The Narmada has already given a glimpse of Early Man and the associated fauna within its upper and middle course in Central India. It remains to be seen whether these clues could be had further down. It is not impossible that a systematic search might reveal not only these stone-age clues but also those of the proto-historic period. For the Vedic and Puranic tradition endow this river with a hoary antiquity.

VI

In the Deccan and Karnatak the Malaprabha has already given a number of implements *in situ*. So also has the Godavari at two extremities of its upper reaches. It, in spite of its Deccan trap substratum, has patches of old illuvia between Nandur Madhmeshwar and Paithan ; at the former place fossil remains of an extinct type of elephant and hippopotamus were found ; at the latter fossil remains of an elephant and also an agate flake.

Side by side with this river-valley survey, extensive and systematic trial exploration of microlithic and proto-historic sites should also be undertaken. For the aim is not to know the ' first man ' only ; it is rather to trace his physical and cultural development in Gujarat and the rest of India, as has been done to a certain extent in Europe, Egypt and Mesopotamia. Even for such a cultural investigation FOOTE has, fortunately for us, left a few clues. All over the valleys of the Sabarmati, Watrak, Orsang, Hiran, Tapti and other smaller rivers, but principally over the löess, or wind-formed loamy-sand ' hills ', he found small implements made out of agate, carnelian, chert, quartz and such hard silicate stones ; pieces of broken pottery and on a few sites on the Sabarmati—Phudera—and Velchha and Naroli Nahni on the Tapti remains of iron-slag.

Similarly in the Amreli Taluka of the Baroda State in Kathiawad, as well as in the States of Vala and Jetpur such small pygmy tools, potsherds, beads, chank-shell and pieces of bronze bangles. Below are considered pygmy tools and potsherds from the most important sites, finds from other places being summarized in the Appendix.

VII

FOOTE thought that the pygmy tools and potsherds belonged to the Neolithic or New Stone Age, while the iron-slags were specimens of the Early Iron Age industry in Gujarat. And further, since the pygmy tools etc. were found on the surface, over a height of 100 or more feet at some sites from that of the occurrence of palæolithic finds, a long period intervened between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Periods in Gujarat.

Very little has been done in the region to reject this view entirely. Two facts, however, argue against FOOTE's theory, namely, that the pygmy tools and potsherds belong to the same (Neolithic) age. First, it is merely the surface association of these, from which it is not possible to say that the *pottery was also used at the time of the pygmy tools ; it might be* of a subsequent age. Second is the fact that in other countries where this pygmy, also known as microlithic culture, is found, pottery is not always associated with it. And it is believed that pottery first came to be used when man emerged from a hunting state and settled down into an agricultural life necessitating an increased use of recepticles. Thus pottery was one of the principal contributions of the Neolithic Age.

It must be said, however, that the evidence from India is rather confusing. At Maski in the Hyderabad State[25] and at Brahmagiri[26] in the Mysore State, microliths and pottery were found in association at varying levels. At Maski beautiful microliths of chalcedony—agate and carnelian—were found with pottery, seals, beads etc., whereas at Roppa, a site near Bramagiri, microliths began to be found at a depth of 5 feet along with neoliths and painted and grey unpolished pottery and continued to appear till a depth of 8¾ feet, but the pottery became coarser. From this evidence it is thought to be a late microlithic or an 'early neolithic-microlithic culture, parallel to the Campignian of France', when pottery had come in use. The evidence from an excavation[27] of a rock-shelter in the Mahadeo Hills, Pachmarhi, Central Provinces, is strikingly different from both these areas. There HUNTER found that the surface soil down to 6 inches was strewn with pottery, whereas below that, a foot deeper, a skeleton and typical Tardenoisian (microlithic) flakes and implements and no pottery at all. He therefore concluded that in Pachmarhi, as in Europe, these people lived before the metal and even the Neolithic age. On these problems too the trial excavations carried out by the Gujarat Prehistorical Expedition are expected to throw some light.

Nevertheless FOOTE's finds have their independent value which is here discussed in some detail from a comparative point of view.

[25] *AR, AD, Nizam's Dominions, 1939, 16.*

[26] M. H. KRISHNA, "Presidential Address," *Section of Anthropology, 29th Science Congress, Baroda,* 1942, 23-26.

[27] *NUJ*, No. 1, 1935, 31 ; No. 2, 1936, 127.

VIII

The pygmy tools or microliths—(1) the variety of stones used; (2) their type and technique, and (3) their affinity with similar tools from other parts of India—are first taken up.

The microliths from Gujarat proper are made out of agate, carnelian, chert, jasper, quartz (milky, at times limpid or crystal); less frequently of bloodstone, greenstone and rarely (so far from one site only) of amazon stone. It may be asked whence the "microlithic" man got this raw material. The amazon stone, as will be mentioned below, is available in the Sabarmati valley. The largest and the best known deposit of the silicate stones, primarily agate and carnelian, is at Ratanpura in the Rajpipla State. It may have supplied the people in Central Gujarat, living on the Narbada, Orsang, Hiran and other rivers. But the microlithic people of Northern Gujarat might have got their supply from Rānpur in Ahmedabad and from the Mājam and the Watrak Valley round about Kapadvanj.[28] These silicate deposits are harder than quartzite and were formed in the fissure of the trap rock. And man must have further carried them up on the löess 'hills', for all over Northern Gujarat, any kind of stone is rare, not even a piece being available to throw at a dog. What meets the eye everywhere is loamy sand.

Of the amazon stone, a variety of microcline-felspar, FOOTE found only a few pieces at a place called Ghadhada plateau but further up the river (Sabarmati) saw an actual vein of this rock. Small and big pebbles of it are at times found in the river-bed.

The importance of this stone having been found in Gujarat has already been commented upon by GORDON,[29] who has pointed out that it was this source and not the Nilgiris from which the people of the Indus culture got their amazonite for manufacturing articles. But including this and other 'rare or selected' stones and the silicate stones mentioned above, the 'Microlith' man of Gujarat used a larger variety of stones than that used by man in Kathiawad,[30] Sind, Central Provinces, Hyderabad-Deccan, and South India. These microliths are of various shapes, the chief among them being

(1) Rectangular or similarly shaped long blades, with an edge on both sides.

(2) Crescents or Lunates. These are also blades, usually sharp-edged on one—the chord—side only, while the back is made blunt by trimming. Among the sub-types we have a concave edge, and the back is at times perfectly angular.

(3) Scrapers, usually roundish, sometimes rectangular, or trapezoidal and usually edged on one side or on the convex side.

(4) Points—thin or thick, with a projecting sharp point.

[28] See KALAPESI in *JGRS.*, II, (1940), 205. [29] *JRASB*, 1941, pp. 129-30.

[30] In Kathiawad a few varieties of chalcedony are found near Mahespur, Morvi State. See KALAPESI, *op. cit.*, 206.

(5) Discs, sometimes merely conical like a button and having a number of facets ; sometimes these are biconical and have got a sharp edge around.

(6) Cores or nodules usually square, rectangular, and round, but sometimes long and cylindrical.

We can merely guess at a few uses of these tiny, barely an inch long, at times over an inch and rarely two inches, tools. The blades resemble our knife-blades and must have been used for cutting, scrapping and such purposes. The crescents also for similar purposes ; but the blunt back indicates that they were either hafted in a bone or wooden handle, or held between the thumb and forefinger ; the prepared blunt back serving as a protection to the handle or to the hand. Such a crescent-hafted tool could have been employed as a sickle. In fact identical sickles have been found from ancient sites in Egypt and Europe.[31] The scraper, as its name implies, must have been used for scraping skins etc. A typical scraper is defined as a 'broad flake the point of which has been chipped to a semicircular bevelled edge round the margin of the inner face', similar in character to a 'round nose turning chisel'.[32] The scraper was so-called because of its similarity in character to a stone implement in use among the Esquimaux for scraping skins etc. The points could have been used for piercing, drilling or graving purposes and some of them as arrow-heads. Of the two types of discs, the first type with numerous facets was used as 'Strike-a-lights'. They were sold in France as late as 1870,[33] and we saw them in actual use by a villager at Sigam on the Hiran river. Those with a sharp edge around might have been used as weapons of offence. Finally the cores are the remnants of the pebble, from which flakes have been taken out. They look like our mango *goṭlas* or guava stones from which *chiris* have been cut off. A good core invariably shows a number of facets, whence the flakes have been removed.

IX

In form and technique the Gujarat microliths are not strikingly different from those of other parts of India. It is certain that such fine, small chips of stone could have been flaked only by some kind of pressure-flaking as is even now employed by some primitive tribes.[34] While there is no technical difference there is some difference in size and general appearance. The Maski microliths[35] as a rule are longer than those of Gujarat ; those of Sukkur and Rohri[36] are also much longer and bigger—but then they are of flint,

31 "Some Food-gathering Implements", *Antiquity*, December 1941, 331-36, Figs. 19-27.

32 EVANS, *Ancient Stone Implements etc.*, 269.

33 *Ibid.*, 282.

34 Compare for instance the account given by EVANS (*Ibid.*, 21) of the practice among the Aztecs.

35 *AR, AD, Nizam's Dominions*, 1939, 16 pl. xi.

36 FOOTE, *Cat. Raisonne*, 245.

of which longer nodules might have been available as the cores show. It also appears that flint was easier to work than other varieties of silicate stone. The Cutch specimens, mentioned by GORDON,[37] the writer has been unable to see so far. In this respect the finds from Babapur[38]—all of snuff-coloured chert are also larger than the Gujarat ones. Thus in Gujarat a real long knife blade is rare. The same is true of 'points'. Among the numerous specimens of thick or thin points, one finds only a couple of 'true' arrow-heads.[39] This weapon, indeed, in its finest shape is not yet found among the microlithic collections in India. None of the finds made by FOOTE can be compared with the chert arrow-heads from Kœnigswald, Java, now exhibited in the Madras Museum. They are triangular, have serrated sides and a sharp point and a hollow or concave back so that they could be hafted.

There is nothing distinctive about the potsherds found along with the microliths from Gujarat proper. But FOOTE's notices of potsherds from two sites in Kathiawad deserve to be commented upon in the light of the subsequent discovery of pottery from protohistoric sites in Sind, Kathiawad and other historic sites of India. These sites are Khijaria Tappa and Dhalkania, both in the Amreli Prant. The Khijaria specimens[40] No. 3493-37 indicate fine pottery of well-laminated clay, properly baked and wheel-made. It is reddish in colour and light in weight. Its texture and thinness remind us of similar potsherds from Amri, a protohistoric site on the right bank of the Indus; and that from Arikemodu, an ancient site near Pondicherry. The Dhalkania pottery[41] is even finer. Of specimens Nos. 4041-32, 17, 21, 24 are potsherds having a thin, fine, red slip inside, and polished both externally and internally. Other specimens are slightly thicker, though similar in texture, but polished only externally.

Being surface pottery much reliance cannot be placed on it. The writer cannot say if such pottery is made nowadays or was made there a hundred years ago. But trial excavations in the area should solve the problem.

These clues along with those obtained by VATS from a small digging at Rangpur, in the Limbdi State, Kathiawad, do indicate an extension of the Indus culture southwards and eastwards into Kathiawad. So far no characteristic Indus 'seals' have been found either at Rangpur or at any other site. But the 'black-on-red' pottery, terracotta cakes etc. are signs in the same direction. Whether this culture extended further eastwards and southwards beyond the Tapti we have no evidence to say either way.[42]

[37] *JRASB*, 1941, 129.

[38] FOOTE, *op. cit.*, 219. Among these the best specimens are 3568, a biserrated blade, 3533 a chisel, and 3570 an arrowhead.

[39] *Ibid*, 232. No. 3892 (from between Umaria and Baroda, Kathiawad).

[40] *Ibid*, 217. [41] *Ibid*, 236.

[42] Aurel STEIN'S recent discovery of chalcolithic sites in Southern Punjab and Northern Rajputana have supplied very welcome links in the extension of the Indus culture southwards and eastwards. See *GJ*, A Survey of Ancient Sites along the "Lost" Sarasvati River, xcix, 4 (April 1942), 173-182.

X

Gujarat including Kathiawad seems to have a long proto-historic[43] past during which it might have been in contact with Sind and other north-western civilisations by land and sea ; and in a still remoter period when the land was coming up from the sea or the latter retreating from the former, and the present rivers were being formed, Early Man wandered on their banks, having possibly migrated here from the south on his way northwards towards the Siwalik hills and the slopes of the Himalayas. The clues given by FOOTE, half a century ago, and here set forth in their relative context, promise to unravel this recent and dim past, if they are taken up soon, before their vestiges are further lost, and followed up scientifically by a co-ordinated scheme of exploration all over Gujarat and Kathiawad.

[43] For the significance of and a clear distinction between the term prehistoric and protohistoric, see HERAS, 'Prehistory or Protohistory', *JBORS*, XXVIII, Pt. 2, 113 ff.

CHAPTER III

GUJARAT : EARLY SUB-DIVISIONS

INDIA, in ancient times was divided into five geographical divisions, viz., *Prācya* (Eastern), *Dakṣina* (Southern), *Pratīcī* (Western), *Udīcī* (Northern) and *Dhruvā Madhyamā* (Central). The earliest reference to them is found in the *Atharva Veda* and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[1] where they are mentioned as various *Diks* (directions). The word *Dik* originally meaning merely 'direction', in course of time, came to connote a region. In the seven divisions referred to in the *Purāṇa*[2] these five together with the Vindhya and the Himavant regions, were included. The divisions were also known to the Buddhist *Jātakas*, wherein out of the five divisions *Uttarāpatha, Dakkhiṇāpatha* and *Majjhimadeśa* are frequently mentioned. The remaining two *Prācya* (Eastern) and *Pratīcī* (Western) also known as Aparānta, are not mentioned by name, but various countries of the Western region like Sovīra, Bharu and Suraṭṭha are mentioned.[3]

Aparānta: When the Aryans settled in different parts of Bhāratavarṣa and the regions developed their geographical individuality, they came to be known as *janapadas*. Geographically the region between Ujjain and Sindh and Sindh and Śūrpāraka (Sopārā), the western sub-division of Bhāratavarṣa, came to be known as Aparānta. Sufficient data are not available to fix the boundaries of Aparānta in the *Mahājānapada* Era. The region to the west of an imaginary line between the Aravali and the Sahyadri ranges, including Sindh, Gujarat and Konkan was Aparānta. In other words, it was western Bhāratavarṣa.[4] From the description of the pilgrimage of Arjuna given in the *Mahābhārata* it would appear that Aparānta included practically the whole of the west coast.[5] In the *Purāṇas* Aparānta figures as one of the countries to the north of the Sahya mountains.[6] In the Girnār, Dhowli, Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra edicts of Emperor Aśoka we get references to the people staying in the western border as the people of Aparānta—अपरता, आपलंता, अपरंत, अपरंत.

Pandit JAYASWAL'S interpretation of the word is interesting. He writes : "'Antas' meant in Asoka's edicts neighbours (neighbouring states); following that 'Aparānta' can mean literally two things : (i) the neighbours

1 *AV*, III. 27 ; IV. 30 : XII. 3 ; XIX, 17 ; *Ait. Brā.*, 8, 14.

2 Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa*, 34, 64.

3 Cf. R. K. MEHTA, *Pre-Buddhist India*, 366.

4 JAYACHANDRA VIDYĀLANKĀR, *Bhāratīya Itihāsa-ki-Rūpārekhā*, I, 39.

5 *Mbh.*, I, 218, 1-2.

6 A. S. ALTEKAR, *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, 2 ; also, *Mātsya*, 113, 51 ; *Vāyu*, 45, 128.

7 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, 1.

of the west, (ii) the hinder neighbours of the states on the frontiers of western India ; it may simply mean western end or frontier of the country, that is, Western India. The Bhojas, the Rāṣṭrikas, and presumably the Pittinikas belonged to the country called Aparānta or Western India."[8]

There is no reference to Aparānta in the *Jātakas*, but only to some of its cities. But in later Buddhistic literature there is a reference to Therā Yāna Dhammabeetā being sent to Aparānta.[9] In the writing of the 19th year of Pulumayi the son of Śātakarṇī Vāsiṣṭhi in the third cave of Nasik dated about 25 B.C. a reference can be found to Sauraṭṭha (Saurāṣtra) and Aparānta.[10] In the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman (A.C. 150) it is mentioned that the Mahākṣatrapa had assembled the rulers of the various regions of Bhāratavarṣa including Aparānta.[11] Aparānta here would mean the Western end of India—from the Mahi in the north to Goa in the south. The portion of Aparānta actually under Rudradāman must be the country between the Mahi and Damanganga as at this period the north Konkan was subject to the Āndhras.[12]

Aparānta is also referred to in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidasa (4th cent. A.C.).[13] The *Deepa Vaṁśa* (3rd cent. A.C.) and *Mahā Vaṁśa* (5th cent. A.C.) also refer to it. On the strength of the travels of Hiuen Tsang (6th or 7th cent. A.C.) CUNNINGHAM wrote his geography of Ancient India. MAJUMDAR in his edition of CUNNINGHAM gives boundaries of Aparānta as follows : "Sindha, Western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujarata and the lower region of the Narmada."[14] The commentator of Vātsyayana's *Kāma Sūtra* calls the regions in the west near the sea by the name Aparānta—पश्चिम समुद्रसमीपेऽ परान्त देशः ।

JAYASWAL states that the Bhojas, Rāṣṭrikas and Petenikas of the edicts of Aśoka were people of Aparānta.[16]

In the earlier times—from the *Mahājānapada* Era upto the Maurya period—the region between Ujjain and Sindh, beyond the boundaries of *Majjhimadeśa* (Central India) along the west sea-coast upto Shorpāraka (Sopāra) was known as Aparānta ; according to BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, in the 3rd cent. B.C., the region between Mahi and Goa on the west sea-coast was similarly known. In the 1st century A.C. the southern boundary of Aparānta was extended and it came to have three well defined regions, Lāṭa,

[8] K. P. JAYASWAL, *Hindu Polity*, para. 131.
[9] *JRAS*, 1898, II, 562.
[10] *ASWI*, IV ; article on *Nasik Inscriptions* by Pt. BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI.
[11] *EI*, VIII, 36. [12] *BG*, I, 36, n. 8.
[13] *Raghuvaṁśa*, 4, 53 : *JRAS*, 1894, 86.
[14] CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India* (Edited by Majumdar), Calcutta, (1924), 699.
[15] *Kāma Sūt.* (Kāśi Sanskrit Series), 126.
[16] K. P. JAYASWAL, *Hindu Polity*, para. 131.

North Konkan and South Konkan.[17] However, after the 8th century A.C. the word gradually went out of use. New names for regions included in the area had sprung up in their place. But the fact remains that the region which is now known as Gujarat had in early times three divisions : Ānarta, Saurāṣṭra and Lāṭa.

Ānarta : This signifies north Gujarat. According to the *Purāṇas*, Śaryāti, the son of Vaivasvata Manu, got as his share Western India, and Śaryāti's son, Ānarta, founded Ānarta.[18] The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* call that region Ānarta, the capital of which was Kuśasthalī. Puṇyajana Rākṣasas destroyed Kuśasthalī with the co-operation of the Dravids and after its destruction Dwarika was founded, where according to the *Mahābhārata* the Yādavas ruled.[19] Elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* Dwarika and Prabhāsa have been regarded as situated in Saurāṣṭra and Saurāṣṭra and Ānarta are referred to together.[20] From all this it appears that in the times prior to Rudradāman, Saurāṣṭra along with central and northern Gujarat was called Ānarta.[21] Varāha Mihira gives nine divisions of the country and Sindhu-Sauvīra is placed in the west. It is stated that Sindhu-Sauvīra and Ānarta all form one region (deśa). Sindhu-Sauvīra, though referred to as the chief district of the west, is at another place assigned to the south-west along with Ānarta.[22] ANANDASHANKER suggests that the name Ānarta was derived from *anṛta,* that is, the region where non-Aryans, who did not follow the sacrificial religion like the Dasyus, lived.[23] In the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman also the name Ānarta appears.[24]

The boundaries of Ānarta extended as far as Ahmedabad in the south, to the desert of Kutch in the west, to the Abu region in the north and to Malwa in the East. But these boundaries were vague; where exactly Ānarta ended and Malwa began is difficult to say. There is no indication of any independent kingdom of Ānarta. With the Saurāṣṭra on one side, and the Malwa on the other, it is unlikely that there ever was such an independent kingdom. In the *Dharma Sūtras* of Baudhāyana certain regions have been regarded as निषिद्ध —forbidden, and Ānarta is among them.[25]

The chief city of Ānarta was Vadnagar—Ānandapura, Ānartapura. From the Vadnagar *praśasti* of Kumārapāla it is clear that in the 12th century A.C. Vadnagar used to be known as Ānandapura.[26] In the *dānapatras*

[17] D. K. ŚHASTRI, *Gujarāt-no Madhyakālīna Rājaput Itihāsa*, I, 39 ff.

[18] *Hari*, I. 10. 31-33 ; *Matsya*, XII, 21-22 ; for Śaryāta geneology, see *Padma*, V. 8. 126-129.

[19] *Mbh.*, III, 88, 19 and 24.

[20] *Mbh.* III, 88, 19 and 24 ; *Matsya*, 113, 51 ; *Vāyu*, 45, 131.

[21] D. K. SHASTRI, *op. cit.*, 44. [22] CUNNINGHAM, *op. cit.*, 7.

[23] A. B. DHRUVA, *Vasanta* (Āṣadha, 1980). [24] *EI*, VIII, 36.

[25] *IC*, 1935, 553 ff : therein Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee states that, "Ānarta, Anga, Magadha, Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvira, and Dakṣināpatha are condemned because they are marked by intermixture of castes—संकीर्ण योनयः ।"

[26] *EI*, I, 299.

of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi also there are references to Ānartapura and Ānandapura,[27] which according to Dr. BÜHLER is Vadnagar, in North Gujarat.[28] It was the centre of Brahmanical learning and statesmanship.

Saurāṣṭra: According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* it was originally the region of the Sus, Saurāṣṭra being its Sanskritised form ;[29] but the name Suraṭha appears in the inscription of Pulumāyī, the son of Vāsiṣṭhi, in the third cave at Nasik.[30] Saurāṣṭra appears, therefore, the Sanskrit form of Suraṭha. The name Mahārāṣṭra is analogous in this instance. According to Dr. BHANDARKAR the word *Mahārāṣṭra* is the Sanskrit form of Mahāraṭha—first raṭṭa or raṭṭha and then the name signifying the class of people is derived.[31]

If this be true, the *Raṭṭha* people with *Su* instead of *mahā* would make Suraṭha. Dr. BHANDARKAR found the above explanation of the word as applied to people, to suit the Marāṭha people, the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty and the province of Mahārāṣṭra. But, the same cannot be said of Suraṭha, since we have not so far discovered any reference to a people called Suraṭha. K. P. JAYASWAL on the other hand maintains that the Ābhiras of Gujarat were the same as the Rāṣṭrikas of Aśoka and the Yādavas of the *Mahābhārata*. If this be correct, after the Yādavas or Rāṣṭrikas settled down in this region it possibly came to be known as Surāṣṭra.[32] In modern times only the southern part of Kathiawar is known as Soraṭh ; but in the ancient times the whole of it was known as Saurāṣṭra. According to Ptolemy the limits of Saurāṣṭra extended from the sea-coast of Kathiawar to Broach. According to Periplus, however, one could cross over from the gulf of Barakê (the gulf near Dwārikā) to the gulf of Barygaza—भृगुकच्छ. This voyage along the coast from Barbarikon to the headland of Pāpikê (Gopanāth) was one of 3,000 stadia i.e. 300 miles. According to Periplus the boundaries of Surastrene and Barygaza were different.

We come across the name Saurāṣṭra in the *Mahābhārata*,[33] the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[34] the *Purāṇas* like *Mārkandeya*,[35] *Kūrma* and *Viṣṇu*,[36] *Kautilya*[37] and in the *Sūtras* of *Paṇini*.[38] This name was selected perhaps because of the natural richness of the province ; from very old times the country was famous for its natural wealth. Hence the name did not go out of vogue. It was in popular use right upto the eighteenth century when the Marāṭhas changed

27 *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, I, Ins. No. 40, 76, 83.
28 *IA*, VII, 76 ; *BG*, I, 6 ; also, ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, 14.
29 *BG*, I, 6. 30 *EI*, VIII, 60.
31 D. K. SHASTRI, *Aitihāsika Saṁśodhana*, 283.
32 D. K. SHASTRI, *Gujarāt-no Madhyakālina Rājaput Itihāsa*, I, 42 ; *IA*, 1933, 129.
33 *Mbh.*, III, 88, 19 and 23.
34 *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiśkindhā Kāṇd, Adh. 42.
35 PARGITER, *Mārkandeya* (Calcutta, 1904), 370.
36 *Kūrma*, I, 47, 42 ; *Viṣṇu*, 4, 24, 68.
37 RAM SHASTRI, *Kautilīya Artha Śāstra* (Mysore, 1919), 378.
38 *Vasanta*, XXXI, 309.

it to Kathiawar, after the name of the tribe which offered them the greatest resistance.[39]

The earliest reference to Surāṣṭra[40] by foreigners are those of Strabo (50 B.C.-20 A.C.) as Sarostus, Pliny (77 A.C.) as Oratura, Ptolemy (150 A.C.) and Periplus (80 A.C.) as Surastrene. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang refers to Sul-ca, Soraṭh, the circumference of which was 4,000 li (667 miles). The Arab writer Al-Bilāḍuri (892 A.C.) writes "that Mahammad the son of Kasim, the Arab conqueror of Sindh is said to have made peace with the inhabitants of Surast or Kāthiāwād with whom the people of Batia, i.e., Bet, to the north of Dwārakā were then at war."[41] In early Buddhist works we do not find a reference to Saurāṣṭra but in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. we come across Suraṭh. In the *Milinda Paṇha* the *Suratho Nigama* is stated to be on the sea-shore.[42] Suraṭṭha is also mentioned in the *Jātakas*.[43]

Lāṭa : According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* the South Gujarat from the Mahi to the Tapti was called Lāṭa. Neither in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* nor in the inscriptions upto the 3rd century A.C. do we find any reference to Lāṭa since up to that time the region south of the Narmada right up to Goa, was known as Aparānta. The region between Broach and the Mahi is referred to in the *Matsya* and *Mārkandeya Purāṇas* as भरुकच्छा : समाहेया : । as perhaps parts of the province were included in the Aparānta, Ānarta and Mālawā.[44] In Ptolemy (150 A.C.) for the first time we find reference to Larike (Lāṭa) and this suggests that the name at any rate, is ancient. From the 3rd century A.C. the name Lāṭa became more known and current.[45] According to ANANDASHANKER the word Lāṭa is derived from *Rāṣṭra* and was known to Ptolemy, Vātsyāyana and others.[46]

In the Mandasor inscription of the times of Kumāragupta (5th century A.C.) there is a reference to a temple having been constructed by silk-weavers who had come from Lāṭa.[47] In the inscription in one of the caves in Ajantā of the times of Vākāṭaka Hariṣeṇa (490-520 A.C.) also there is a reference to it. In No. 17 in the second cave at Ajantā there is a statement about a *vihāra* having been constructed by the minister of Hariṣeṇa. The inscription also gives the names of the ten ancestors of the minister. JAYASWAL deduces from this genealogy that the ancestors of the minister of Hariṣeṇa were residents of Lāṭa.[49] It is suggested that the beautiful sculpture of Ajantā was the work of the sculptors from Lāṭa.[50]

In the Daśpura inscription of Buddhavarman (473 A.C.),[51] in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa[52] and in the *Aihole Praśasti* composed by Ravikīrti,[53]

39 ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, 3. 40 *BG*, I, 6 f. 41 *Ibid*, 506.
42 *Milinda Paṇha, SBE*, XXXV, 269. 43 R. K. MEHTA, *op. cit.*, 443.
44 ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, 4. 45 *BG*, I, 7.
46 A. B. DHRUVA, *Sāhitya Vicāra.* 47 FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 35.
48 *ASWI*, IV, 135.
49 K. P. JAYASWAL, *History of India*, (150 A.D. to 350 A.D.), 105.
50 *JBORS*, XII, 498 (*Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Literature*, by N. C. MEHTA).
51 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, Bk. xviii, v. 4.
52 *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇayasāgar edition), 120. 53 *EI*, VI, 1.

we find a reference to Lāṭa. In the *Artha Śāstra* of Bṛhaspati we find a reference to northern Lāṭa and Eastern Lāṭa.[54] In the work of Hiuen Tsang also we find a reference to Lolo (Lāṭa).[55]

In the *Kuvalayamālā* composed in 835 (V. E.) the people of Lāṭa are referred to : "Then I saw the people of Lāṭa ; they used to part their hair ; they besmear their bodies with scent ; their bodies are beautiful to look at. They speak 'amhaṁ kauṁ tumhaṁ.'"[56]

In the *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa*[57] and *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* of the poet Rājaśekhara who flourished in the court of Emperor Mahendrapāla of the Pratihāra family, (C. 892 A.C.- C. 910 A.C.) there is a reference to Lāṭa, its people and language.[58] In the works of Arab traders and travellers also Lat-Lari is mentioned. Al-Masudi (943 A.C.) writes that the part of Thana is on the shores of the Lari sea and the Lati (Larivi) language is spoken there. Al-Beruni (970-1031 A.C.) writes that the distance between Thana and the capital of Lāṭa (Broach) is about 100 miles and that the boundary of Lāṭa commences from Thana.[59]

In the *dānapatras* of the southern Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūta kings the reference to Lāṭadeśa is common. In some cases the kingdom of some Rāṣṭrakūta kings extended as far as the Kaira district (Kheṭaka maṇḍala) and Vadnagar or Ānandapura with the result that the whole of the region south of the Sarasvati was known as *Lateśvara maṇḍala*. In the *dānapatra* dated Śaka 855 (989 V.E.) of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Govind IV, the *Kheṭaka maṇḍala* is said to be included within the Lāṭa region. In an inscription of Gwalior a general Alla of Ramabhadra of Kanauja, (C. 833-C. 836 A.C.) has been referred to as having come from Ānandapura in the Lāṭa *maṇḍala*. From this it appears that in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. not only central Gujarat but also northern Gujarat was known by the name of Lāṭadeśa.[60]

The Cālukya king Karṇadeva annexed Lāṭa to Sārasvata Maṇḍala, of which Anahilavad Pāṭana was the capital. From that time the name Lāṭa began gradually to disappear. How the name of Gujarat came to be applied to these parts will be dealt with later.

[54] *IC*, April 1935, 553. [55] *FGSQ*, I, 408.

[56] ण्हाओ लित्तविलित्ते कयसीमंते सोहियं गत्ते । अम्हं काउं तुम्हं भणिरे अहपेच्छइ लाडे ॥

[57] *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa*, I, xi.

[58] पठन्ति लटमं लाटाः । [59] *BG*, I, 524.

[60] *IA*, XIII, 157, 158, 163, 180, 188, 196, 199, 204 ; for the inscription of Govinda IV, see *EI*, VII, 49 ; for Alla, see *EI*, I, 156.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

A classified summary of the Palaeolithic, Microlithic and other finds from R. B. Foote's *Indian Prehistoric* and *Protohistoric Antiquities* :

Notes on Ages and Distribution.

(A few more sites are also mentioned in an earlier volume, called *Catalogue Raissone*. But since they could not be located on a map, they are omitted from this summary.)

The sites where microliths were found are called 'Neolithic' by FOOTE. Since there is not sufficient evidence to decide the age of these finds, a question mark has been put after the word 'Neolithic'.

The classification is made according to the nature of the finds, palaeolithic finds being grouped first. The rest are arranged alphabetically riverwise, taking up first the finds on the Watrak and the Sabarmati valleys, then those in the Orsang and Hiran valleys, and others in Central Gujarat; then those in the Tapti. The sites in Kathiawad are grouped separately, after those of Gujarat. Very often FOOTE has not fully or correctly indicated the situation of the site, so further details have been supplied by the writer, indicating their exact location in the 1 inch = 4 miles and 1 inch = a mile Survey Maps respectively, and their approximate place in a sketch map of Gujarat (including Kathiawad). See Map on page 13.

Site and its location.		Character : Finds.	Site's position in the Survey Map.
1. Pedhāmli village, Vijāpur Taluka, Baroda State.	Shingle bed, a few yards south of the village, on the right bank of the Sabarmati, 15½ miles higher up the river than Sadolia.	Palaeolithic : "Palaeolith of coarse quartzite grit ; very shapely ; narrow pointed oval in shape and mottled brown and bluey in colour." No. 3309, p. 142, pl. 2.	46 A 10 × 14 Ahmadabad
2. Sadolia village, Prantij Taluka, The village on the right bank opposite to Sadolia is called Koṭ or Koṭ-Anoḍiā. It is in Vijapur Taluka.	Alluvium of the Sabarmati on the right bank of the river, opposite to that of the village.	Palaeolithic : palaeoliths :— 1. Worked flake (No. 3247) chocolate coloured. 2. Fine axe of the Madras type, pinkish white (No. 3248). Three other palaeoliths from the same place in the Baroda Museum. p. 142.	46 A 11 × 15 Ahmadabad
1. Bardoli, Dehagam Taluka, Baroda State.	Top of the Löess hill, on the Watrak River west of Bardoli.	"Neolithic" (?) 19 Flakes :— 10 glassy quartz. 3 quartzite, 4 chert, 2 agate, besides 1 selected stone, 1 chalcedony, 1 jaspery chert, 1 agate, 1 laterite. p. 140-41.	46 A Ahmadabad 46 A 16 × 8
2. Barria, Dehagam Taluka, Baroda State. 3 miles north of Bardoli.	South of the village on the top of the cliff forming the right bank of the Watrak.	"Neolithic" (?) Flakes, scrapers and 'Mysore type of pottery.' 15 chert, 16 agate, 3 chalcedony, 1 glossy quartz, 12 selected stones, 2 bloodstones. p. 140, pl. 32.	46 A Ahmadabad 46 E 4 × 8

3. Dungarva Hill, Kadi Taluka Baroda State.	Top of the Löess Hill. Several hills to the south and north-east.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. 6 chert flakes, 1 core of glassy white quartz. 2. 4 interesting pieces of pottery. p. 141.	46 A 11 × 15
4. Hirpura plateau, Vijapur Taluka, Baroda State.	North of the village of Derol on the right bank of the Sabarmati.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. Most interesting series of selected stones : 8 pebbles of amazon stone. 2. Pinkish and reddish chert, glossy quartz, dark grey and white mossy chert. 3. Flakes and scrapers. p. 142.	46 E Ahmadabad 46 A 10 × 14
5. Kujadpur, 17½ miles east of Ahmadabad.	Löess hill.	"Temporary Neolithic site" (?) Noteworthy specimens of grey pottery. p. 137-38.	46 A 12 × 16 × 8
6. Mahuri or Mahudi village, Vijapur Taluka, Baroda State.	At the head of the gully system which cuts deeply into the alluvium of the Sabarmati.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. Flakes and scrapers. 2. potsherds—decorated. 3. figurine of a bull. p. 141, pl. 38.	46 Ahmadabad 46 A 11 × 15
7. Mulsan, Mehsana Taluka, Baroda State.	Löess hill.	"Neolithic" (?) 31 specimens. Note :—pygmy flint with edges delicately worked. pink mottled flake with a chisle point etc. strike-a-lights of glassy white quartz. p. 141.	46 A 11 × 14

Site and its location.		Character : Finds.	Site's position in the Survey Map.
8. Jalampura, Löess Hill, a few miles to the northeast of Vāsad in Baroda State.	Top of the Löess hill, west of Jalampura, on the Mahi.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. Parts of a human cranium imbeded in the löess, in a small gully a few feet below and south of the trigonometrical cairn. 2. flakes, cores, and strike-a-lights and selected stones of agate, chert and quartz. Note :—A thin flake of dull, green stone ; a wedge-shaped flake of a mottled chert. p. 138.	46 F 46 B 9 × 13 × 5
9. Amroli, south of Sankheda Taluka, Baroda State.	River alluvium, north of Sandhia Station on the G. B. S. Rly.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. Flakes and cores of agate and chalcedony. 2. potsherd, with a unique adornment. p. 137.	46 B 9 × 13 × 5 Baroda
10. Bahadurpur, Sankheda Taluka, Baroda State.	Alluvial basin of the Orsang River, immediately north of the town.	"Neolithic" (?) Common flakes, pygmy flakes, cores of agate, chalcedony and chert. p. 135-36 ; pls. 9, 10, 11.	Baroda 46 F 12× 16 × 8
11. Bodeli, Sankheda Taluka, Baroda State.	North of the railway terminus at Bodeli, on the Orsang River.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. Agate cores. 2. Glassy white quartz. p. 144.	46 F 11 ×15

12. Sigam, Sankheda Taluka, Baroda State.	On the north or right bank of the Hiran River.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. Great variety of artifacts; double edged flake of chalcedony, pygmy flake knife of chalcedony, curious triangular pigmy tool of grey chert with a serrated edge. 2. Object of *Songir* sandstones. 3. Pottery pieces. p. 138.	46 F 12 × 16 × 8
13. Wadeli, Sankheda Taluka, Baroda State.	Upper part of the alluvium, left bank of the Orsang River, a little distance below the village.	"Bronze Age" (?) 1. a fragment of a child's bangle of bronze. 2. figurine of a bull. 3. potsherds. p. 138.	46 F 12 ×16 × 8
14. Ghalha, 4 miles north-east by east of Kamrej.	Fields west of Ghalha on the right bank of the Tapti.	"Neolithic" (?) a round hammer, the body of a flattened cylinder, etc. ... p. 140.	Nandod 46 G and 46 3 × 7
15. Kamrej, Navsari Prant, Baroda State.	On a small islet in the bed of the Tapti.	"Neolithic" (?) 1. A hammer face of gabbro. 2. A round hammer of sandstone. 3. Part of a bangle of chank shell carved into a tall zigzag pattern. 4. Dyed (?) shell of a species of Purpura. p. 139, pl. 42.	Surat 46 C and 46 3 × 7
16. Kanja, Taluka Town, 4 miles east of Mandvi, and 10 miles north by west of Vyara, Surat District, Baroda State.	South or left bank of the Tapti, 14 miles west of Serula	"Neolithic" (?) Fine thumbstone of basaltic trap, 'perhaps used for flaking.' No. 3396, p. 137, pl. 39.	Nandod 46 G and 46 G 3 × 7

Site and its location.		Character : Finds.	Site's position in the Survey Map.
17. Naroli Nāhāni, about 4 miles south-west of Velachha and some distance from Vasravi iron slag mounds.	Top of the laterite plateau, south of the village.	"Neolithic" and "Early Iron Age" (?) Excellent series of cores, flakes, strike-a-lights } some of agate chalcedony, jasper, bloodstone. "the site, a factory for small flakes." p. 144.	Nandod 46 G and 46 G 3 × 7
18. Vasravi, Velachha Taluka, 8 east of Velachha, Surat District.	Great mounds of iron slag.	Early Iron Age (?) 1. Plaque and cone of nummulitic limestone. 2. Earthenware-bowl of polished black ware. 3. Disc of blue and white enamelled faience. 4. Corncrusher of dark amygdaloid trap. p. 143.	46 G and 46 G 3 × 7
19. Serula, Songad Taluka, 7 miles north-east 1 mile north of Tapti River.		"Neolithic" (?) A fine mace head or ringstone of black basaltic trap. p. 136, pl. 19.	46 F 12 × 16 × 8
20. Vyara,* Waghoria Taluka, between Baroda and Bahadurpur, Baroda State.	On the G. B. S. Rly.	Traces of settlement (?) "neolithic" (?) 1. Pottery pieces of archaic type. 2. A curious piece of hard green chlorite schist. 3. Roundfaced round hammer of sandstone. p. 139, pl. 16.	46 G 4 and 8

* This site has been by oversight placed here. It should have been mentioned after No. 13.

21. Akkadia Mota, 8 miles west of Amreli, Kathiawad, Baroda State.		"Neolithic" (?) strike-a-lights, scrapers, cores and flakes of— chert, agate, chalcedony, bloodstone. 10 Selected stones of chert of gay and striking colours. Scraper of purple and pink chert, furnished with nicks to help attaching it to some kind of handle. p. 148.	Amreli 41 O and P (1 = 4 miles)
22. Ambaldi Hill, 8 miles north-east of Dāmnagar.	Top of the hill.	Scrapers, cores and selected stones of chert. Note :—No. 3446, p. 147, pl. 13.	—Do—
23. Ambavalli.		Series of chalk shell bangles. p. 149-150, pl. 43.	In the same map but not traced.
24. Bābāpur, 13 miles south by west of Amreli.	Alluvium, on the left bank of the Shetrunji River.	"Neolithic" (?) 1 Important series of flakes, scrapers, strike-a-lights, etc. Note :—a thin, leaf-shaped flake of wine-red chert very delicately biserrated. 2 Shell bangles. p. 149.	Amreli 41 O and P
24(a). Chachai. 13 miles from Dhari.	South-west part of Dhari Taluka.	"Neolithic" (?) Rich in cores, small scrapers and worked flakes of chert, agate and bloodstone. p. 151-52.	
25. Kankavāv, Railway station, 16 miles west by north of Amreli,		A great pottery site. p. 156-57.	—Do—

Site and its location.		Character : Finds.	Site's position in the survey Map.
26. Khijria Tappa. Jetpur State.	Half a mile south of the railway bridge, Tepi River.	'Very interesting pottery site'. Pottery ware red or pale red and very hard in texture, highly polished. p. 147-48, pl. 18.	Amreli 41 O and P
27. Nigala Tappa, 42 miles south of Amreli.		"Neolithic" (?) Chert scrapers, flake knife of chert. 11 cores of chalcedony. p. 151.	—Do—
28. Rupavati, 15 miles south-east of Dāmnagar.		Remains of copper-smelting industry; cores and selected stones. p. 146-47.	—Do—
29. Samadhiala, 22½ miles south of Amreli.	The environs to the north and north-east of the village.	"Neolithic" (?) Flakes, scrapers, cores, strike-a-lights and selected stones—of chert, agate, chalcedony, etc. p. 150.	46 O and P Amreli
30. Umria, 31 miles south of Amreli.	The environs of the village.	"Neolithic" (?) Very rich in artifacts : flakes, scrapers, knives, strike-a-lights of chert, agate, chalcedony, quartz, bloodstone. p. 150.	—Do—
31. Versara, 7½ miles north-east by east of Amreli.		"Neolithic" (?) Well made pygmy flake of crimson, jaspery chert. p. 146.	—Do—

SECTION II

THE ARYANS : PRE-VEDIC AND VEDIC

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST ARYAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE earliest age of Indian history can be conveniently divided into Pre-Vedic, Vedic and Post-Vedic periods, if the last period is taken to end by c. 700 B.C. when Śiśunāga first established an imperial dynasty at Pāṭaliputra. Materials for this period are sufficient to permit of its reconstruction. No doubt, references and traditions in ancient literature on which such reconstruction is based are sometimes considered inadmissible in the current historical research. In India however, the epic and the ritualistic literatures contain many traditions, the historical basis of which cannot be ignored. This class of evidence, in view of its nature and authorship, can be divided into the Vedic and the Puranic.

I

The legends, myths and stories collected in the original *Purāṇas*, existed long prior to the Bhārata War or rather the reign of Janamejaya Pārikṣita and formed the literature of the people as contrasted with the Vedic mantras and the *Brāhmaṇas* which contained the literature of the learned priestly class. The Puranic traditions and genealogies, however, can yield a reliable record only if the Vedic literature is made to supply the necessary correctives. The names, associations and synchronisms found in the mantras of the *Ṛgveda* are very reliable, as they were woven into contemporary records by persons having some direct, or indirect but unremote, source of knowledge. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* also testify to the changes which the traditional genealogies of the *Purāṇas* including the *Mahābhārata* underwent before being incorporated in them.[1]

One shortcoming of the early Ṛgvedic literature, however, should not be ignored. Most of it was either composed or compiled by *ṛṣis* living in or about the Sapta-Sindhu where ran the courses of the holy Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadavatī. The *ṛṣis* were the intellectual leaders of the Vedic Aryans. They did not either know, or care to refer to, the movements which were going on in distant parts of the land, or to the exploits of Aryan tribes, which formed the outpost of Aryan occupation.

We find in the *Ṛgveda* a reference to the Vītahavyas and Sṛñjaya,[2] but none to the confederacy of tribes referred to by the *Purāṇas*, of which the Vītahavyas were a part and which went by the name of the Haihayas and

[1] MUNSHI, *EAG.*, 6. [2] *Ibid*, 7. n. 13.

the Tālajaṅghas. We also find a reference to Jamadagni, the Bhṛgu sage, who was not only connected with Viśvāmitra by blood, but was perhaps his confederate in politics and certainly his collaborator in composing hymns.[3] But not a word is mentioned about his father Ṛcika, a great warrior, or about his still greater son, Paraśurāma, whose martial deeds according to the *Purāṇas* ultimately earned for him a place in the pantheon as the sixth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. On the other hand the *Atharva-Veda* retains a better record of the event. The obvious explanation is that the cultured sage on the banks of the Sarasvatī looked with contempt on the Aryans who fought and lived, outside Sapta-Sindhu, in those lands where culture was archaic or crude. With the loftiness common to literary men in all ages they only concerned themselves with the elect who shared with them the atmosphere from which they drew their inspiration.

II

The Vedic and the post-Vedic periods from the wars of Divodāsa Atithigva to Śiśunāga (c. 700 B.C.) would cover over thousand years during which the life in the country was organised by the collective effort of the whole community ; it was shaped through the impact of the Aryans with the non-Aryans resulting from the victorious advance of the former in the country, and through the new social and cultural adjustment to which the impact gave rise. The end of the post-Vedic period saw the spread of the values for which the Aryan culture stood up to the Narmadā.

For the sake of clarity, the Vedic Aryans may be defined to be the Aryans who lived in the Sapta-Sindhu (the modern Punjab and a part of the North-West Frontier provinces) during the period which immediately preceded and followed Dāśarājña, the battle of Ten Kings, in which Sudāsa, the son of Divodāsa, was the victor. It is the first authentic event, as proved by the Ṛgvedic evidence, for Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra have sung about it with unmistakably first-hand passion.[4] Their language as preserved in the *Ṛgveda* may be termed Vedic Sanskrit. The Vedic period, consequently may be deemed to be the life-time of the participants in the *Dāśarājña* and of their immediate predecessors and successors who could be identified with certainty.[5] I have arranged them in the following manner :—

[3] *RV*, X. 167. 4 ;

[4] *RV*, VII. 18 ; 33 ; 83 ; *cf.* also I. 53. 9 ; III. 33 ; 53 ; VII. 19. 7-8 ; 60.9. For a summary of the Dāsarājña battle, see MUNSHI, *op. cit.* 9 ff.

[5] MUNSHI, *op. cit.* 6 ff.

Tṛtsu-(Bharatas)	Tṛtsus (?)	Jahnu-(Bharata?)	Pūru-Ikṣvakus	Ikṣvākus	Vītahavyas (Sṛñjayas)	Bhṛgus	
Vadhryaśva	V	Kuśika	(Ikṣvāku)	(Ikṣvāku)	Somaka	—va	K
Pijavana	A	Gāohin	Durgaha	Veohas	Srñjaya	Ṛcika	A
Divodāsa	S	V	Girikṣit	Hariścandra	(Vītahavya)	J	V
S	I	I	P	Rohita	Kṛtavirya	A	A
U	Ś	Ś	U		A	M	Ś
D	T	V	R		R	A	A
Ā	H	Ā	U		J	D	A
S	A	M	K		U	A	I
A	Śakti	I	U		N	G	L
	Parāśara	T	T		A	N	Ū
		R	S			I	S
		A	A			P	A
		Śunaḥśepa	Trasadasyu			A	
		(Devarāta)	Tridhanva Mitrātithi			R	
			Trivṛṣna Kuruśravaṇa			A	
			Tryaruṇa Upamaśravas			Ś	
						U)	
						R	
						Ā	
						M	
						A	

Close of the Mantra period.

Vyāsa — Sagara — Agni (Aurva)

The Vedic Aryans ceased to be such at the end of this period. When the next period opened, the race, ritual and culture had undergone a revolutionary change.

The Vedic period begins with king Divodāsa Athithigva of the Tṛtsu tribe destroying the Dasyu King Śambara. The Vedic Aryans were divided into tribes of whom the most powerful in the north were the Yadus and the Purus. Possibly these and other allied tribes were called the Bharatas. The Dasyus or Dāsas were also a powerful race with fortresses and a civilisation not quite dissimilar to that of the Vedic Aryans.

III

There is no evidence to show that these Vedic Aryans were foreigners or that they migrated into Sapta-Sindhu within traditional memory, despite the generally accepted theory of their foreign immigration. Sufficient literary materials are available to indicate, with some degree of certainty, what the Vedic Aryans themselves thought of the Sapta-Sindhu. They looked upon it as their original home, *devakṛta yoni*[6] or *devanirmita deśa.*[7] The Vedic literature is intensively Indian in tradition, technique and outlook. There is no outside source known from which it could have evolved or even drawn its inspiration. So far as is known, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contains any distinct reference or illusion to the foreign origin of the Indians[8].

Migrating races look back to the land of their origin for centuries. Parsis in India remember their origin after 800 years. The ancient Egyptians looked back to the land of Pontus and the ancient Phoenicians to the Eurethrean Sea, their respective lands of origin, when they had already forgotten their location. The Vedic Aryans, if at all they came from outside, therefore, must have lived in the Sapta-Sindhu so many centuries before the Vedic period, that they had lost all memory of an original home.

The poets at the time of the Battle of Ten Kings had woven their earliest race memories round Sapta-Sindhu[9]. The Sarasvatī river was adored[10] with the hymns of ancient *ṛṣis*. Her companion was Indra who cut off the head of the horse Dadhīci. Its bones were later turned into Vajra on the shores of the lake Śaryanāvat,[11] near Kurukṣetra ; and Indra, the mo-

[6] *RV*, III. 33. 4 : एना वयं पयसा पिन्वमाना अनु योनिं देवकृतं चरन्तीः । न वर्तवे प्रसवः सर्गतक्तः किंयुर्विप्रो नद्यो जोहवीति ॥

[7] *Manu*, II, 17 : सरस्वती दृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् । तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

[8] MUIR, *OST*, II, 323.

[9] *RV*, VIII. 24. 27 : य ऋक्षा दंहसो मुचद्यो वार्यात्सप्त सिन्धुषु । वधर्दासस्य तुविनृम्ण नीनमः ॥ and IV. 26. 2 : अहं भूमिमददामार्यायाहं वृष्टिं दाशुषे मर्त्याय । अहमपो अनयं वावशाना मम देवासो अनुकेतमायन् ॥ *cf.* also, X. 75.

[10] *RV*, VI. 61. [11] *RV*, I. 84. 14 : इच्छन्नश्वस्य यच्छिरः पर्वतेष्वपश्रितम् । तद्विदच्छर्यणावति ॥

ment he was born, drank Soma which was available from Muñjavat[12], a peak of the Himālayas.

"Oh, Indra", sings the *ṛṣī*, "the hymn chanted long before (the rise of the sun) that awakens (thee) by being sung at sacrifices, is old and has come to us from our ancestors, clothed in white and graceful robes."[13] The Indra cult and its literature was therefore reckoned ancient during Vedic times.

Indra's great exploit of destroying Vṛtra, the first born of Ahis was in Sapta-Sindhu. As a result he won the cows and the soma juice and opened the flood gates of the seven rivers.[14] Thus it was that Sapta-Sindhu came into existence for the Vedic Aryans and they became worshippers of Indra.

But there is ample evidence that before the Indra cult came to hold indisputable sway among the Vedic Aryans there were other older gods who held the field, and that Indra did not occupy the central position without any doubt, schism and conflict.

The race memory as disclosed in the Vedic literature has six different layers, the first four of which relate to the period of the Indra-cult, and the fifth and sixth to the Varuṇa and the pre-Varuṇa periods, respectively. The first four of these layers reaching back to several hundred years are woven round Sapta-Sindu :[15]—

I. The Vedic Present consisting of the hymns composed by Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra who were connected with the battle of the Ten Kings or those who flourished after them and the close of the Vedic period.

II. The Recent Past in which lived kings, donors and sages who are referred to as belonging to an older generation. Some of the hymns are stated to have come down from ancestors clothed only in new language.[16]

III. The Middle Past when (a) Bhāratī came to be associated with the Bharatas, a powerful race of Sapta-Sindhu settled on the Sarasvatī ;[17]

[12] *RV*, X. 34. 1 : प्रावेपा मा बृहतो मादयन्ति प्रवातेजा इरिणे वर्व्रतानाः । सोमस्येव मौजवतस्य भक्षो विभीदको जागृविर्मह्य मच्छान् ॥

[13] *RV*, III. 39. 2. [14] *RV*, I. 32, 12 ; II. 12. 12.

[15] *Cf.* "The language and literature of the Vedas is by no means, so primitive as to place with it the real beginnings of Aryan life. These in all probability and in all due moderation reach back several thousands of years more." BLOOMFIELD, quoted in *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, intr. ii.

[16] *RV*, III. 39. 2 : दिवश्चिदा पूर्व्या जायमाना वि जागृविर्विदथे शस्यमाना । भद्रा वस्त्राण्यर्जुना वसाना सेयमस्मे सनजा पित्र्या धीः ॥

[17] *RV*, I. 22. 10 : आ मा अग्न इळावसे होत्रां यविष्ठ भारतीम् । वरूत्रीं धिषणां वह ॥

I. 142. 9 : शुचिर्देवेष्वर्पिता होत्रा मरुत्सु भारती । इळा सरस्वती मही बर्हिः सीदन्तु यज्ञियाः ॥

I. 188. 8 : भारतीळे सरस्वति या वः सर्वा उपब्रुवे । ता न श्रोदयत श्रिये ॥ II. 1. 11 :

and (b) Sarasvatī acquired the reputation as the home of learning[18].

IV. The Distant Past in which the legends associated with Sapta-Sindhu took shape[19].

(a) Sarasvatī, the Mother, who was associated with Indra when he killed Vṛtra[20].

(b) The worship of the Soma, collected from the Muñjavat came to be considered as the main feature of the rituals[21].

(c) The Sapta-Sindhu was considered as having been brought into existence by Indra by destroying Vṛtra and making the seven rivers flow[22].

V. The Period of the Varuṇa-cult when Varuṇa was the head of the pantheon and Indra as a god was not in the pantheon at all, or any way, was not the guardian god of the Vedic Aryans.

VI. Pre-Varuṇa Period when the Dyus or Dyāvā and Pṛthivī were the then ruling gods. Dyāvā created the elder gods[23], and Pṛthivī or Aditi gave birth to eight sons, seven of whom became immortals, viz. Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryamā, Bhaga, Dakṣa and Aṁśa[24]. The seventh not mentioned is to be identified with the Sun, and not Indra[25].

In this period flourished the fire-worshipping magic priests Bhṛgus, Aṅgirases, Atharvans. In Vedic times they were only distant ancestors to be invited to sacrifices. But the older cult of magical rites and incantations persisted even among Vedic Aryans. Rakṣas, goblins and evil spirits had to be warded off[26]; bites of poisonous snakes were similarly cured[27]. Diseases had also their appropriate mantras[28]. As in the *Atharvaveda*, there are, in the *Ṛgveda*, mantras against bad dreams[29], for destruction of rivals[30], for winning husband's love[31]. These beliefs in the *Ṛgveda* were the

त्वमग्ने अदितिर्देव दाशुषे त्वं होत्राभारती वर्धसे गिरा। त्वमिळा शतहिमासि दक्षसे त्वं वृत्रहा वसुपते सरस्वती ॥ and III. 4. 8 : आ भारती भारतीभिः सजोषा इळा देवैर्मनुष्येभिरग्निः। सरस्वती सारस्वतेभिरर्वाक् तिस्रो देवीर्बर्हिरेदं सदन्तु ॥ According to Vedic Index (II, 97) the association of Bhāratī with Sarasvatī reflects the connection of the Bharatas with Sarasvatī in the *RV.*

[18] *Ait. Brā.* II. 19 : ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत। also, *Kauṣ. Brā.* XII. 3 : माध्यमाः सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत।

[19] Das, *Rgvedic India*, 61 ff.

[20] *RV*, VI. 61. 7 : उतस्यानः सरस्वती घोरा हिरण्यवर्तनिः। वृत्रघ्नी वष्टि सुष्टुतम् ॥

[21] Das, *op. cit.*, 55-61. [22] *RV*, I. 32. 11 ; III. 26. 6 ; IV. 17. 1.

[23] *RV*, X. 72. 2 ; I. 159. 1-2.

[24] *RV*, II. 27. 1 : इमा गिर आदित्येभ्यो घृतस्नूः सनाद्राजभ्यो जुह्वा जुहोमि। शृणोतु मित्रो अर्यमा भगो न स्तुविजातो वरुणो दक्षो अंशः ॥

[25] Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 152.

[26] *RV*, VII. 104 ; X. 87. [27] *RV*, I. 191. [28] *RV*, X. 163.

[29] *RV*, X. 164. [30] *RV*, X. 166. [31] *RV*, X. 159.

features of an older civilization over which was laid worship of the nature gods as a later refinement.

These old features were part of the living faith of the Atharvans even of Vedic and post-Vedic times who claimed direct ritualistic descent from Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases.

IV

The earliest tradition about the Aryans in Gujarāta is connected with a period very much older than the Vedic and is associated with the Śaryātas and the Bhṛgus. It can only be placed between the fifth and the seventh stages when the Varuṇa cult had fully displaced the cult of fire and the witchcraft. The evidence is drawn from the common tradition preserved in the *Atharvaveda, Brāhmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas* which for brevity may be called the Atharvan tradition. The *Ṛgveda* is entirely silent about them[32].

Among the ancients, tribes enjoyed a distinctive existence mainly by its members believing in a common descent from an imaginary progenitor; and the tribal name was in such cases always held to have been derived from his. Accordingly, Mānavas, the most important group of tribes which went to form the early Aryans, claimed a descent from Manu. In the Ṛgvedic times this Manu had lost all historical reality and was simply the first man, the father of the race[33], as his brother Yama was the first of the mortals. The eponymous ancestor of the Śāryātas, Śaryāti[34], is included among one of the ten sons of Manu[35].

Yayāti is the name of a 'sacrificer' and not of a tribe, and is connected with many names and traditions. He is the son of Nahuṣa[36] and the grandson of Iksvāku. Yati, the name of his brother in the Ṛgvedic period appears to have been borne by an ancient clan[37]. And it is just likely that

[32] MUNSHI, *EAG*, 18.

[33] Cf. *RV*, I. 80. 16; II. 33. 13; VIII. 63. 1; X.109. 5 etc.; also, *V.I.* II, 129.

[34] *RV*, I. 51. 12: आ स्मा रथं वृषपाणेषु तिष्ठसि शार्यातस्य प्रभृता येषु मन्दसे। इन्द्र यथा सुत सोमेषु चाकनोऽनर्वाणं श्लोकमा रोहसे दिवि॥ and, III. 51. 7: इन्द्र मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमं यथा शार्याते अपिवः सुतस्य। तव प्रणीति तव शूर शर्मन्ना विवासन्ति कवयः सुयज्ञाः॥

[35] *Matsya* (11. 40-41) describes the ten sons as follows: मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्दश पुत्रा महाबलाः। इलस्तु प्रथमस्तेषां पुत्रेष्टयां समजायत॥ इक्ष्वाकुः कुशनाभश्च अरिष्टो धृष्ट एव च। नरिष्यन्तः करूषश्च शर्यातिश्चमहाबलाः। पृषध्रश्चाथ नाभागः सर्वेते दिव्यमानुषाः॥ *Vāyu* (II. 3. 29-30) describes Manu's nine sons as follows: इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च। नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभ उद्दिष्ट एव च॥ करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च वसुमान् नवमः स्मृतः। मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते नव पुत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ *cf.* also, *Hari*, I. 10. 1-2; *Mbh.* I. 75. 15-17 etc.

[36] *Matsya*, 24, 49-51; *Vāyu* II. 31. 12-13; *Hari*, I. 30. 1-2, *Mbh.* I. 75. 30-32. See MUNSHI, *EAG*, 22n.

[37] *RV*, VIII. 3. 9: तत्त्वा यामि सुवीर्यं तद्ब्रह्म पूर्वचित्तये। येना यतिभ्योभृगवे धने हिते येन प्रस्कण्वमाविथ॥ and, VIII. 6. 18: य इन्द्र यतयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तुष्टुवुः। ममेदुग्र श्रुधी हवं॥

Yayāti may have belonged to the Yati tribe which came to be known as Aila in the Puranic literature. The Yatis are connected with the Bhṛgus[38], the fire-worshipping warrior-priests. Yayāti himself married the daughter of Śukra (Uśanas), the great Bhṛgu[39] or Atharvan.

The Bhṛgus claim as hoary an ancestry as the Mānavas, and certainly a greater sanctity. They claim their descent from Bhṛgu believed to be the son of Varuṇa[40]. Later literature, however, makes him a son of Manu[41]. From the earliest times the Bhṛgus were a powerful tribe, whose priestly importance appears to be as great as their martial prowess. They claimed to have brought down fire on earth through Mātariśvan[42]. *Āgnisthāpana* was considered to be their special function[43]. The *Atharvaveda*, which in some of its parts must be considered very ancient, was the special branch to which the Bhṛgus were devoted[44], for it is called *Bhṛgvaṅgirasaḥ*[45]. Kavi Uśanas and Cyavana, both undoubtedly Bhṛgus, are also called the sons of Aṅgirases[46]. The earliest traditions are only consistent with the fact that the Atharvans (Āthravans of the *Avesta*) and Aṅgirases and the Bhṛgus, the last two originators of fire and fire-worship, formed the same branch. In later tradition the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirases were treated as separate and the word Atharvaṇa was applied to a school of ritualists.[47] Cyavana also was an Atharvan.

From the earliest times, the Bhṛgus appear to be closely associated with what may be called the Yayāti group of tribes, i.e. Yadu, Puru, Aṇu,

38 *Cf.* the texts cited in the previous note; also, *Sāmaveda* II. 304.

39 *Vāyu* II. 31. 15-16 : तेषां मध्ये तु पञ्चानां ययातिः पृथिवीपतिः । देवजानिमुशनसः सुतां भार्यामवाप ह ॥ शर्मिष्ठामासुरीं चैव तनयां वृषपर्वणः ॥ cf. also, *Matśya* 24. 51-52; *Hari* I. 30. 4; *Padma* V. 12. 105-106; *Mbh.* I. 75. 34.

40 *Pañ. Brā.* XVIII. 19. 1 : वरुणस्य वै सुषुवाणस्य भर्गोऽपाक्रामत्स त्रेधापतद्भृगुस्तुतीयमभ्यवच्छ्रायन्तीयं तृतीयमपस्तृतीयं प्राविशत् ॥ also, *Śat. Brā.* XI. 6. 1. 1 and *Taitt. Ār.* IX. 1 : भृगुर्ह वै वारुणिः ॥ See also, *Taitt. Up.* I. 3. 1. 1.

41 *Cf. Manu* I. 34-35.

42 *RV*, I. 60. 1 : वहिं यशसं विदथस्य केतुं सुप्राव्यं दूतं सद्यो अर्थं । द्विजन्मानं रयिमिव प्रशस्तं रातिं भरद्भृगवे मातरिश्वा ॥ See also, III. 5. 10.

43 *Mait. Saṁ.* I. 4. 1 : इष्टो यज्ञो भृगुभिर्द्रविणोदा यतिभिराशीर्दा वसुभिः । अङ्गिरसो मे अस्य यक्षस्य प्रातरनुवाकैरहौषुः ॥ and *Taitt. Saṁ.* IV. 6. 5. 2 : अग्ने प्रेहि प्रथ देवयतां चक्षुर्देवाना मुत मर्त्यानाम् । इयक्षमाणा भृगुभिः सजोषाः सुवर्यन्तु यजमानाः स्वस्ति ॥ See also, *AV*, IV. 14. 5.

44 WEBER, *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. Trans.) 11 and 148; also, PARGITER, *AIHT*, 319.

45 BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of AV* (*SBE*, XLII), intr. xxiii ff, xxxiii f.

46 *Śat. Brā.* IV. 1. 5. 1 : यत्र वै भृगवो वाङ्गिरसो वा स्वर्गं लोकं समाश्नवत तच्च्यवनो वा भार्गवश्च्यवनो वाङ्गिरसस्तदेव जीर्णिः कृत्यारूपो जहे ॥

47 Cf. *V. I.* I. 18.

Druhyu and Turvasu.[48] Kavi Uśanas or Śukrācārya was a great teacher. He was, in the *Purāṇas*, the high priest of the Asuras[49] and the rival of Bṛhaspati, the high priest of the Devas. His daughter Devayāni was married to Yayāti and gave birth to Aṇu, Druhyu and Turvasu, the eponymous ancestors of three of the five tribes which constituted the Pañcajanas during the Vedic Period. He had also married the daughter of a non-Vedic, if not a non-Aryan king, Vṛṣparvan.[50]

V

The Bhṛgus were closely associated with the Śāryāta tribe of the Mānavas[51]. In the *Ṛgveda* the name Sāryāta had already receded into the past ; it was only borne by a singer who claimed to have descended from an eponymous Śaryāta[52]. Śaryāti is referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* only in connection with the legend of the rejuvenation of Cyavana, the Bhārgava, and the introduction of Aśvins as the presiding deities at a sacrifice along with Indra[53].

The story given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* runs as follows :—

When the Bhṛgus or the Aṅgirasas attained the heavenly world, Cyavana the Bhārgava or Cyavana the Aṅgiras, was left behind here, decrepit and ghostlike. But Śaryāta, the Mānava, just then wandered about here with his tribe, and settled nearby that same place. His boys, while playing, setting that decrepit, ghostlike man at nought pelted him with clods. He was wroth with the Śaryātas, and sowed discord among them ; father fought with son, and brother with brother.

Śaryāta then bethought him : 'This has come to pass for something or other I have done !' He caused the cowherds and shepherds to be called together, and said, 'Which of you has seen anything here this day ?' They said : 'Yonder lies a man decrepit and ghostlike ; him the boys have pelted with clods, setting him at nought.' Then Śaryāta knew that this was Cyavana.

He yoked his chariot, and putting his daughter Sukanyā thereon, he set forth, and came to the place where the Ṛṣi was. He said : "Reverence be to thee, O Ṛṣi, because I knew thee not, therefore have I offended thee ; here is Sukanyā ; with her I make atonement to thee ; let my tribe live at peace together." And from that time his tribe lived at peace together. But Śaryāta, the Mānava, departed forthwith lest he should offend him a second time[54].

The legend finds place in many *Brāhmaṇas*, and Cyavana's connection

[48] *Matsya*, 24. 53-54 : ययातेः पञ्च दायादास्तान्प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतः । देवयानी यदुं पुत्रं तुर्वसुं चाप्यजीजनत् ॥ तथा द्रुह्युमणुं पूरू शर्मिष्ठाऽजनयत्सुतान् । cf. *V.I.* I, 467 ; see also, *Vāyu* II, 31. 16-17 ; *Padma* V. 12. 106-107 ; *Hari* I. 30. 4-5 ; *Mbh.* I. 75. 34-35 etc.

[49] *Pañ. Brā.* VII. 5. 20 : उशना वै काव्योऽसुराणां पुरोहित आसीत्..... ॥ Cf. also, *Śāṅkhāyana Ś. Sū.* XIV. 27. 1 ; *Taitt. Sam.* II. 5. 8. 5 ; *Matsya*, 25. 8-14 ; 30. 9 ; *Mbh.* I. 65. 36 ; 66. 42-43 ; 81. 9 ; etc.

[50] See n. 39.

[51] See n. 35, where Śaryāti is one of the sons of Manu, and hence Mānava.

[52] *V. I.* II, 364 f ; also n. 34, where quotations from RV are given.

[53] *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 21-24 ; *Śat. Brā*, IV. 1. 5 ; *Jai. Brā.*, III. 120-122.

[54] *Śat. Brā*, IV. 1. 5. 1-7 (*Eggeling, SBE*, XXVI, 272 f).

with Śaryāti may be taken to represent a historical fact. The rejuvenation of Cyavana is also referred to, in the *Ṛgveda*.[55]

Śaryāti Mānava is the first Aryan connected with Gujarāta, for it received its first Aryan name from his eponymous son Ānarta[56]. Cyavana in the Purāṇas is always connected with the territory now known as Gujarāta[57]. It also appears that long prior to the itinerary of Yudhiṣṭhira, a mountain top between the Payoṣṇī (the Tāpti) and Narmadā had come to be identified as the Vaiḍūrya Parvata where Cyavana got his youth restored and where Śaryāti performed his sacrifice with Aśvins as the presiding deities[58]. The Bhṛgus who, as will be seen later, were closely connected with these parts of India descended, according to the *Purāṇas*, from Cyavana. This establishes that the Śaryātas and Bhṛgus who lived in Ānarta and on the banks of the Narmadā had the same local associations. Nothing in this tradition indicates that these tribes were not here from the earliest time recorded in tradition.

The extent of the land occupied by these peoples is indicated by the genealogy of Śaryāti as given in the *Purāṇas*. Śaryāti's son Ānarta gives his name to North Gujarāta ; his daughter Sukanyā is married to Cyavana whose *āśrama* is on the Narmadā. His son Reva may be connected with the Revā, the synonym of the river Narmadā, and his son Raivata Kakudmin who gave his name to the mount Raivataka in Saurāṣṭra[59]. The family of the last-named son reigned at Kuśasthalī[60], the ancient name of Dvārikā, which however was subsequently destroyed by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas.

[55] *RV*, I. 117. 13 : युवं च्यवानमश्विना जरन्तं पुनर्युवानं चक्रथुः शचीभिः । युवो रथं दुहिता सूर्यस्य सह श्रिया नासत्या वृणीत ॥ cf. also, VII. 75. 5 ; I. 118. 6 ; X. 39. 4 ; VII. 68. 6 ; V. 74. 5 ; I. 116. 10 ; etc.

[56] *Hari*, I. 10. 31-33 ; शर्यातेर्मिथुनं चासीदानर्तो नाम विश्रुतः ॥ पुत्रः कन्या सुकन्याख्या या पत्नी च्यवनस्य ह । आनर्तस्य तु दायादो रेवो नाम महाद्युतिः ॥ आनर्तं विषयश्चासीत्पुरी चास्य कुशस्थली ॥ रेवस्य दैवतः पुत्रः ककुद्मी नाम धार्मिकः ॥ also, *Matsya*, 12. 21-22.

[57] Cyavana married Sukanyā, daughter of Śaryāti, king of Ānarta, and practised austerities near the Vaiḍūrya Parvata and the river Narmadā.—See *Mbh.* III. 121-122, III. 89. 12.

[58] *Mbh.* III. 121. 19, 21 : देवा नामेति कौन्तेय तथा राज्ञां सलोकताम् । वैदूर्यं पर्वतं दृष्ट्वा नर्मदामवतीर्य च ॥ एष शर्याति यज्ञस्य देशस्तात प्रकाशते । साक्षाद्यत्रापिबत्सोममश्विभ्यां सह कौशिकः ॥

[59] Śaryāta genealogy is given in *Padma*, V. 8. 126-129 : आनर्तो नाम शर्यातेः सुकन्या चैव दारिका ॥ आनर्तस्या भवत्पुत्रो रोचमानः प्रतापवान् । आनर्तो नाम देशोऽभून्नगरी च कुशस्थली ॥ रोचमानस्य रेवोऽभूद्रेवा रेवत एव च । ककुद्मी चापरं नाम ज्येष्ठः पुत्र शतस्य वै ॥ It is also given in *Matsya*, 12. 21-24 ; *Vāyu*, II. 24. 23-25 ; *Hari*, I. 10. 30-37 ; 11. 1-7.

[60] *Hari*, I. 11. 4 : ककुद्मिनस्तु तं लोकं रैवतस्य गतस्य ह । हता पुण्यजनैस्तात राक्षसैः सा कुशस्थली ॥ cf. *Vāyu*, II. 26. 1.

CHAPTER II

ATHARVAN ARYANS AND THE VARUNA CULT

THE relation of the Bhṛgus and Śaryātas with the Vedic Aryans can only be considered in the light of the Atharvan tradition. Naturally the earliest Atharvan literature embodied in the *Atharvaveda* occupies an important position in it.

I

The *Atharvaveda* was accepted as a Veda very much later, and redacted in the Vedic period. But in substance it is distinctly older than the *Ṛgveda*. In its principal elements it reflects a social system, belief, outlook, tradition and ritual much older than the Vedic period. These elements also find a place in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas*, which in their present form, are redacted much later than the Vedic period. During the Vedic period however the Vedic and the Atharvan *ṛṣis* though differing in essential characteristics had such a close contact, both in point of language and communion, that it was possible to produce the unity of language and form which subsists between the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. Even in Sapta-Sindhu the Atharvan *ṛṣis* had their followers who pursued their older belief and ritual, so that some ritualistic differences between the Atharvan and the Vedic *ṛṣis* arose. This is evident from the occasional doubts raised against the orthodoxy of the *Atharvaveda* and from the attempts of the later Atharvans to vindicate their position[1].

But the Vedic Aryans themselves were clearly an off-shoot of the Aryans who contributed this older tradition to the *Atharvaveda*, the *Brāmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas*, for the *Ṛgveda* refers to Bhṛgu, Aṅgirasa, Yayāti, Kavi Uśanas, Cyavana and other figures of the Atharvan tradition as sacred though distant memories.

The Atharvan *ṛṣi* is no mere intermediary of men with gods. He is a priest, warrior and magician, and an indispensable guide for kings. "The king who rules the country shall seek a wise Brāhmaṇa. He verily is wise that is skilled in the Bhṛgvāṅgirases; for the Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras act as a charm against all ominous occurrences and protect everything".[2] *Rājakarmāṇi*, kingly functions, were the special charge of the Atharvan Brāhmaṇas, performing Śrauta rituals but as a subordinate duty.

The three Vedas, the *Ṛg, Yajur* and *Sāma, trayī vidyā*, were distinguished from the *Atharvaveda*, which is styled *Kṣatram*[3]. This Veda,

1 BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of AV*, intr. xxix, xlix. l.

2 *Kau. Sū.*, 94, 2-4; cf. also, 126, 2.

3 *Śat. Br.* XIV, 8, 1-4; *Bṛh. Up.* V, 13, 1-14; *cf. Śat. Brā.* X, 5, 2, 20.

therefore, for long was associated with warrior priests and with Kṣatriyas. But "there is no proof that even the oldest parts of the *Ṛgveda* or the most ancient Hindu tradition accessible historically, exclude the existence of the class of writings entitled to any of the names given to the Atharvan charms; there is no evidence that these writings ever differ in form (metre) or style from those in existing *Atharvan* redactions; and finally there is no positive evidence—barring the *argumentum ex silentio*—that the names current in other texts or designations of Atharvan hymns were unknown at the earliest period of literary activity"[4].

Of course the Atharvan *ṛṣis* had to struggle long to secure for their cult a place of honour among the tradition and rituals of the high-browed Vedic *ṛṣis*. But there was no genuine discrimination against them in the post-Vedic period. Only the conspicuous omission of this Veda which characterises the Śrauta literature, without pronounced disapproval of the Atharvan, is continued even in the *Dharmaśāstras*.[5]

II

From the considerations above-stated, certain definite conclusions follow. The pre-Vedic Aryans at one time were generally Atharvan Aryans. A section of it, settled in Saptasindhu, in course of generations, evolved the outlook, tradition and ritual contained in the *Ṛgveda*. Other sections living outside Saptasindhu, continued to follow the Atharvan cult, though by contact, absorbing some of the Vedic elements. And when some event broke the self-sufficiency of the Vedic Aryans and led to a new renaissance outside Saptasindhu, the Atharvan Aryans contributed characteristic elements to the new outlook, tradition and ritual which a differently organised Aryan society in India north of the Narmadā built up.

The *Brāhmaṇas* contain much older material drawn from the Atharvan tradition. It is noteworthy that they mention *Atharvaveda*, not amongst the Vedas, but separately as Athārvaṅgirasa[6]. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in marked distinction to the *Ṛgveda*, puts *yātuvidaḥ* "those skilled in sorcery" with "those versed in holy literature"[7]. The *Mahābhārata* which in a sense is an encyclopaedia of Puranic episodes was an epic of the Bhṛgus.[8] It, as also the other *Purāṇas*, recognised the importance of the *Atharvaveda* as a Veda and also its canonicity, and testifies to its practices being current[9].

The common material in the *Atharvaveda*, *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Purāṇas* dealing with the Atharvans and as distinguished from the purely Ṛgve-

[4] BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of AV*, intr. xxxi.

[5] *Ibid.* xlv f.

[6] *Śat. Br.* XI, 5, 6, 4-8; XIII, 4, 3, 3; XIV, 5, 4, 10; 6, 10, 6; 7, 3, 11; *Taitt. Br.* III, 12, 8, 2; *Taitt. Ār.* II, 9 and 10; *Bṛh. Up.* II, 4, 10; IV, 1, 2; 5, 11.

[7] *Śat. Br.* X, 5, 2, 20.

[8] Cf. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, "The Bhrgus and the Bhāratas", *ABORI*, XVIII, 1-76.

[9] BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of AV*, intr. li f.

dic material contained in them may be comprehensively termed the Atharvan tradition.

III

The principal characteristic of the Vedic Aryans of Saptasindhu was their cult of Indra, their favoured god. But the Varuṇa-worshipping Atharvan Aryans were one with the forefathers of the Vedic Aryans before the Indra cult was developed and accepted in Saptasindhu. As the memories of Bhṛgu, Yayāti and Kavi Uśanas were very distant in the Vedic period, the development of the Vedic Aryans as a distinct social and ritualistic unit must have taken place long before the Battle of Ten Kings. This distance of time can be measured by the position which Varuṇa occupied among the Vedic Aryans.

Dyaus and Pṛthivī were undoubtedly the earliest gods of the Aryans.[10] The link is supplied by the *Atharvaveda* wherein Parjanya is referred to as the husband of Pṛthivī, the same as Dyaus.[11] Parjanya, the older form of Dyaus, was a god of rain and storm.[12] His epithets and prowess were later transferred to Indra by Vedic Aryans. He is the Lithuanian Perkunas, the god of Thunder, the Gothic Fairguni, the Norse Fiörgyn.[13] Dyaus or Parjanya therefore is decidedly different from Indra and much older, pertaining to the time when the Vedic Aryans had not separated from the European branch and had not evolved the Varuṇa or the Indra cult. This thunder god provided the original of Zeus, the head of the Greek pantheon, Uranus—Varuṇa, was a subordinate god. Thus again we find the scriptures of the Atharvan Band of Aryans to be the repository of a state of things much older than the Vedic period.

Dyaus-Pṛthivī first gave birth to the three excellent ones, Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryamā.[14] They were the oldest, *jyeṣṭhatama*.[15] Mitra and Varuṇa were always coupled together. Then three other were born : Aṃśa, Bhaga, Dakṣa. The seventh Āditya is not mentioned.[16] Sūrya, a later form of Mitra, appears to be the seventh[17]. He is, however, a subordinate deity[18]. Indra came to be called Āditya only later.

The position of Varuṇa before the Indra cult began among the Vedic Aryans was of a god of the sky and waters, who regulated the physical and

[10] *RV*, I. 155. 3 ; III. 3. 11 ; IX. 85. 12 ; X. 65. 8 ; etc.

[11] *AV*, XII. 1. 12 : यत् ते मध्यं पृथिवि यच्च नभ्यं यास्त ऊर्जस्तन्वः संबभूवुः । तासु नो धेह्यभि नः पवस्व माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः ॥ पर्जन्यः पिता स उ नः पिपर्तु ॥ also XII. 1. 42 : यस्यामन्नं व्रीहियवौ यस्या इमाः पञ्च कृष्टयः । भूम्यै पर्जन्यपत्न्यै नमोस्तु वर्ष मेदसे ॥

[12] *RV*, V. 83 ; VII. 101 and 102. [13] DAS, *Rgvedic Culture*, 61 f.

[14] *RV*, II. 27. 2 : इमं स्तोमं सक्रतवो मे अद्य मित्रो अर्यमा वरुणो जुषन्त । आदित्यासः शुचयो धारपूता अवृजिना अनवद्या अरिष्टाः ॥

[15] *RV*, VI. 67. 1. [16] See n. 24, ch. I.

[17] TILAK, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 152. [18] Cf. RAGOZIN, *Vedic India*, 215.

moral order. He was the lord of the ocean, living below the waters[19] and knew the different routes along which the ships navigated[20]. He with his thousand eyes sparkling[21] was also lord of the sky at night, as Mitra was that of the day. He was the lord of life[22] with Mitra, the upholder of the three bright heavenly regions. He also granted happiness and punished sins[23]. He made the path for the sun[24], supplied the rivers with waters, regulated seasons and divided night and day[25]. He also created the sun, like a golden cradle, swinging in the firmament[26]. He was the king among the gods, *rājā*; the great Asura[27]; the *samrāṭ*, the emperor; the upholder of *ṛta*, the Moral Law. He it was who had hollowed out the channels for the rivers, which flowed at his command.[28]

His ordinances were fixed, and because of them the moon and the stars moved in their appointed path[29]. He and Mitra got the rains to fall, with the help of Parjanya[30]. Varuṇa, however, had nothing to do with Vṛtra.

[19] *RV*, VII. 87. 6 : अव सिन्धुं वरुणो द्यौरिव स्याद् द्रप्सो न श्वेतो मृगस्तुविष्मान्। गम्भीरशंसो रजसो विमानः सुपार क्षत्रः सतो अस्य राजा ॥ cf. also VII. 49. 3 ; also, *AV*, VII, 83. 1.

[20] *RV*, I. 25. 7 : वेदा यो वीनां पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम्। वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥

[21] *RV*, VIII. 34. 10 : आ चेष्ट आसां पाथो नदीनां वरुण उग्रः सहस्रचक्षाः ॥

[22] *RV*, I. 25. 10-12.

[23] *RV*, VII. 60. 5 : इमे चेतारो अनृतस्य भूरेर्मित्रो अर्यमा वरुणो हि सन्ति। इम ऋतस्य वावृधुर्दुरोणे शग्मासः पुत्रा अदितेः रदब्धाः ॥ and VII. 66. 13 : ऋतावान ऋतजाता ऋतावृधो घोरासो अनृतद्विषः। तेषां वः सुम्ने सुच्छर्दिष्टमे नरः स्याम ये च सूरयः ॥

[24] *RV*, VII. 87. 1 : रदत्पथो वरुणः सूर्याय प्रार्णांसि समुद्रिया नदीनाम्। सर्गो न सृष्टो अर्वतीर्ऋतायञ्चकार महीरव नीरहभ्यः ॥

[25] *RV*, VII. 66. 11. वि ये दधुः शरदं मासमादहर्यज्ञमक्तुं चा दृचम्। अनाप्यं वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा क्षत्रं राजान आशत ॥

[26] *RV*, VII. 87. 5 : तिस्रो द्यावो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन्तिस्रो भूमीरुपराः षड्विधानाः। गृत्सो राजा वरुणश्चक्र एतं दिवि पेशं हिरण्ययं शुभे कम् ॥

[27] *RV*, VII, 65. 2 : ताहि देवानामसुरा तावर्या तानः क्षितीः करत मूर्जयन्तीः। अश्याम मित्रावरुणा वयं वां द्यावा च यत्र पीपयन्नहा च ॥ X. 132. 4 : असावन्यो असुर सूयत द्यौस्त्वं विश्वेषां वरुणासि राजा। मूर्धा रथस्य चाकन्नैतावतैन सान्तकध्रुक् ॥ V. 85. 3 : नीचीनबारं वरुणः कवन्धं प्रससर्ज रोदसी अन्तरिक्षम्। तेन विश्वस्य भुवनस्य राजा यवं न वृष्टिर्व्युनत्ति भूम ॥ II. 27. 10 : त्वं विश्वेषां वरुणासि राजा ये च देवा असुर ये च मर्ताः। शतं नो रास्व शरदो विचक्षेऽश्यामायूंषि सुधितानि पूर्वा ॥ V. 63. 3 : सम्राजा उग्रा वृषभा दिवस्पती पृथिव्या मित्रावरुणा विचर्षणी। चित्रेभिरभ्रैरुप तिष्ठथो रवं द्यां वर्षयथो असुरस्य मायया ॥

[28] *RV*, II. 28. 4 : प्र सीमा दित्यो असृजद्विधर्ता ऋतं सिन्धवो वरुणस्य यन्ति। न श्राम्यन्ति न वि मुचन्त्येते वयो न पप्तू रघुया परिज्मन् ॥ See also n. 24.

[29] *RV*, III. 54. 18 : अर्यमाणो अदितिर्यज्ञियासोऽ दब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि। युयोत नो अनपत्यानि गन्तोः प्रजावान्नः पशुमाँ अस्तु गातुः। and I. 24. 10 : अमीय ऋक्षा निहितास उच्चा नक्तं ददृश्रे कुहचिद्दिवेयुः। अदब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि विचाकशच्चन्द्रमा नक्तमेति ॥

[30] See n. 27.

IV

Ahura Mazda or Assar Mazas[31], the God of the Iranians, is identified with Varuṇa, the father of Bhṛgu, under the name of Asura Mahā.[32] Mitra, though the equal of Varuṇa in the *Ṛgveda,* remains only as a name to be coupled with Ahura, a matter of habit.[33] Mitra—Varuṇa at some stage appear to have the Sun as their symbol.

Among the earlier religious beliefs of the Aryans very much anterior to the Vedic period, belonged the Vedic god Trita or Traitana.[34] He is the Thrætona of the *Avestā,* wherein he is described as Verethraghna. But Indra has scarcely any place of honour in the Iranian pantheon and is not connected with Vṛtra.

At an early stage of the Indra cult the Vedic and Iranian Aryans became separate and hostile in belief. Asura was but a demon to the Vedic, and so were the devas to the Iranian. The conflict between those who believed in Asura, the Varuṇa, and those who worshipped the new gods, the devas, thus began, giving birth to the traditions of an endless war between Devas and Asuras.

If the Iranian branch of the Atharvan Aryans worshipped fire and looked upon Indra as a demon, their Indian branch outside Saptasindhu preferred Varuṇa and Agni to Indra.

Manu, the hero of the Flood Story of the Atharvan tradition in the *Śatapatha*[35], is the brother of Yama. According to the *Avestā* it was Yima who rescued creation from the great flood. Yima is also the son of Vivanghant[36] as Manu is of Vivasvata[37].

The fire worshipping Bhṛgus and Angirases formed the first Atharvans and were the same as the Āthravans of the pre-Zoroaster Iranians. The Atharvans, or Āthravans as Avestan literature calls them, were fire-priests. Their rituals centred round fire, as those of the Vedic priests did round the oblations of Soma.

Kavi Uśanas of the *Ṛgveda,* Śukrācārya of the *Purāṇas,*[38] the high priest of the Asuras, is Kavā Uśā, the grand-son of Kai-Kavad and the

[31] MUIR, *OST,* V, Sec. V, 72. [32] *Ibid,* 70. [33] *Ibid,* 70.

[34] *RV,* I. 158. 5 : न मा गरन्नद्यो मातृतमा दासा यदीं सुसमुब्धमवाधुः । शिरो यदस्य त्रैतनो वितक्षत्स्वयं दास उरो अंसावपि ग्ध ॥

[35] *Sat. Br.* I. 1. 8. 1 et. seq.; Kāṭhaka Sam. XI. 2.

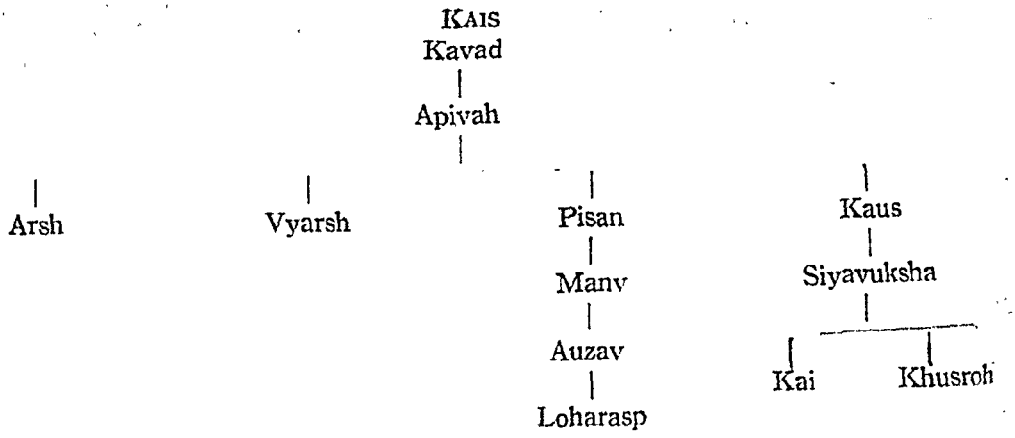
[36] *Zend-Avesta*— Farvardīn Yast, xxix, 130 ; Zamyād Yast, VII. 35, 36, 38 ; *SBE,* XXIII, 221, 294 f ; cf. also *Rv,* X. 14. 1 : परेयिवांसं प्रवतो महीरनु बहुभ्यः पन्थामनुपस्पशानं । वैवस्वतं संगमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा दुवस्य ॥

[37] Cf. *Śat. Br.* XVIII. 4, 3. 3.—मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजेत्याह । also, *AV,* VIII. 10, 24 ; *Āśvalāyana Ś. Su.* X. 7 ; etc.

[38] See n. 49, ch. I.

second king of Kayanian (Cyavana ?) dynasty in the *Avestā*. The Puranic tradition of the dispute between Śukra and Bṛhaspati has its historical root in the schism between the Bhṛgus and the Angirases. For Bṛhaspati himself is *Aṅgirasām Śreṣṭaḥ*,[39] the divinity of witchcraft performances.[40] At some stage the fire-priests drifted away from the priests of witchcraft. Āthravan with his emphasis on fire worship, and the Patesi of the Sumerian and the priest of the Indus Valley with their preference for witchcraft, represent this schism.

The Kavis or Kāvyas were a Bhṛgu family. Uśanas and Ṛcika both belonged to it. Their place in the Indo-Iranian traditions may be now considered. The Kavis are a priestly tribe, hostile to Zarathuśtra,[41] indicating a split between the old Atharvan priests and the fire-worshipping reformers. The Kavis were ruling priests at the time of Zarathuśtra's birth and were described as evil-doers, against whom Haoma had to be invoked.[42] Zarathuśtra was first sent to convert them and their king Aurvaita-dang (Skt. Aurva) of the Tur[43] (Skt. Turvasu, of whom the Bhṛgus were priests.[44]). The rulers of the older Kavis were priest-kings. The Kayanian branch is thus described :[45]



Kaus is Kavi Uśanas. His exploits are recorded by a very later tradition, in *Dinkard*.[46] He is immortal[47] like his proto-type Śukrācārya in the *Purāṇas*, where he is the priest of Vṛṣaparva and the father-in-law of Yayāti.[48] He is also the priest of Bali (Sumerian Baal) whom Viṣṇu

[39] BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of AV*, intr. xxiii. [40] *Kaus. Sū.* 135, 9.
[41] Yasna XXXII. 14. 15 ; *SBE.* XXXI, 64 f.
[42] Yasna IX. 18 ; *SBE*, XXXI, 236.
[43] Dinkard Bk. IV, ch. iv. 2, 20 ; *SBE*, XLVII. 51-55.
[44] MUNSHI, *EAG*, 10f ; also *V.I.* II, 469.
[45] *Zend-Avesta* (*SBE*, XXIII), 65n ; also, Pahlvi Texts, *SBE*, V, 136 (Bundahis, ch. XXI, 25).
[46] Dinkard Bk. IX, ch. XXII, 2-7 ; *SBE*, XXXVII, 220 et seq.
[47] Dīnā-i-Maīnōg-i-Khirad, ch. VIII, 27 ; *SBE*, XXIV, 35-63.

restricted to Pātāla[49] (Indus Valley). This incident is also connected by tradition with the Daśāśvamedha Tīrtha on the Narmadā[50] where Bali's sacrificial endeavours are located. Cyavana's struggle with Indra and his association with Gujarāta have been referred to in the *Mahābhārata*. The Aryans in the Iranian belt, who preserved their traditions in the *Avestā*, were thus dominated by Atharvans. These latter were the Atharvan Aryans of the Sapta-Sindhu who had settled on the banks of the Narmadā. That was the reason why the memory of Kavi Uśanas who fought Indra and Cyavana came to be located on the banks of the Narmadā and their exploits were preserved in the Atharvan tradition.

South Iran and the West Coast of India, therefore, were inhabited by Varuṇa-worshipping Aryans of the Atharvan cult. They must have continued to do so long before the rise and growth of the Indra cult in the Sapta-Sindhu, or at any rate before the Indra-worshipping Vedic Aryans dominated the West Coast.

V

Certain peoples once connected with the Atharvan Aryans shared with them the cult of Varuṇa. Of them were the Paṇis. The Vedic Aryans regarded them 'greedy as wolf',[51] selfish and niggardly,[52] non-sacrificing, voluble, of cruel and unkind speech, devoid of reverential sentiments and not multiplying.[53] Some of them, like Bṛbu, subscribed to the orthodox Vedic faith and were reckoned very liberal donors. Often they were classed with Dāsas, as speaking unintelligibly.

During the Vedic period these Paṇis—Aryan merchants—who traded in foreign lands across the seas which they navigated in their own vessels, and stole cattle, worshipped Varuṇa and were sceptical about Indra. "Who is he?" the Paṇis asked Saramā who had gone to them as Indra's messenger. "What looks he like, this Indra, whose herald you have hastened from afar?"[54]

These Paṇis are identified with the Phœnicians. Their principal deity was Baal, originally the sun God, otherwise called Ouranus,[55] being the same as Varuṇa.[56]

Baal can be identified with an older Vedic hero Vala. He is later identified with Sun, but may have been the name of Varuṇa at some stage. Later,

[49] *Mbh*, XIII, 6, 35; III, 272, 68-70: वलिं चैव करिष्यामि पातालतलवासिनम् । says Nārāyaṇa.

[50] *Matsya*, 193. 23: दशाश्वमेधात्पश्चिमतो भृगुर्ब्राह्मणसत्तमः । and 193, 59: नर्मदायां स्थितं दिव्यं भृगुतीर्थं नराधिप ॥

[51] *RV*, VI. 51. 14. [52] *RV*, VI. 61. 1. [53] *RV*, VII. 6. 3.

[54] *RV*, X. 108. 3. [55] *HHW*, II, 349.

[56] Max MÜLLER, *Chips from a German Workshop*, ii, 65.

however, Vala was considered the principal antagonist of Indra and was regarded the brother of Vṛtra.[57]

It is clear, therefore, that Vala, a divinity older than Indra and identifiable with Varuṇa, was common to the Atharvan Aryans and the Paṇis.

The Phœnicians also called themselves the 'sons of Kuśa';[58] ancient Dvārikā was called Kuśasthalī, or the home of the Kuśas. Kuśavrata or Kuśadvīpa was well known to the early Puranic tradition. There is an old legend which connects Dvārikā with the Puṇyajana Rākṣasas.[59]

The Phœnicians are called Semitic, that is, sons of Shem, by the Western historians. Originally non-Semitic, they became Semitic by racial mixture only about 1100 B.C. But they were called "sons of Ham", non-Semites by the typical Semites or the Hebrews or "sons of Shem" themselves in their *Old Testament*.[60] They were therefore the leading sea-going branch of an early non-Semitic race. They were known as *teukhi*[61] (ship-builders) by the Egyptians of the Early dynasties. They did not follow the custom of circumcision adopted from the earliest times by all Semitic peoples.

The Phœnician alphabet is also closely connected with the Sumerian. Their features also as shown from the coins are distinctly Aryan. They were known as "Fanku" by the Egyptians and "Phoinix" or "Phoinik-es" by the Greeks. The words are as near Vedic "Paṇi" or "Paṇik", as they possibly can be, and the words "Pañcajana" and "Puṇyajana" may also be the variants applied to them. A curious thing about the Phœnicians is that in Europe they sometimes styled themselves Parat, Parut, Prydi and Barata, and that their deity was called Barati, possibly the same as the *Bairthy* of the ancient Egyptians. These words are reminiscent of Bharata and Bhāratī.[62]

Both Herodotus and other classic Greek as well as Roman writers attest to the great contributions made by the Phœnicians to the civilization of Greece and Rome, apart from the introduction of alphabetic writing by Kadmos, the Tyrian Phœnician. Even Homer frequently refers to these gifted merchant mariners, whose shipping dominated the Mediterranean and whose name was proverbial for commerce and all the finest products of skilled craftsmanship.[63]

But long before their settlement in Phœnicia they were mariners, not of the Mediterranean or the Aegean Sea, but another sea on the shores of which they originally lived. According to their older tradition, as recorded

[57] *RV*, X. 67. 6: इन्द्रो वलं रक्षितारं दुघानां करेणेव वि चकर्ता रवेण। स्वेदाञ्जिभिराशिरमिच्छमानोऽरोदयत्पणिमा गा अमुष्णात्॥ Also, *Vedic Mythology*, 160.

[58] *HHW*, I, 536. [59] See n. 60, ch. I. [60] *HHW*, 1, 536.

[61] A. A. TREVER, *History of Ancient Civilisation*, 80.

[62] WADDEL, *Makers of Civilisation*, 201. [63] TREVER, *op. cit.*, 81.

by Herodotus, the Phœnicians or Phoinik-es placed their long-forgotten home on the shores of the Erythrean sea, which is identified with the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea.

These facts clearly point to the Pretero-Phœnician as the common element which by its maritime activities connected the Indus Valley and Kuśavrata or Kathiawar with the river valleys of Tigris and Euphrates of the west and had spread even in the Sapta-Sindhu and the west coast of India. There is no reason to rule out the possibility of their being originally Varuṇa-worshipping Aryans.

CHAPTER III

ARYAN CONTACTS WITH SUMER

OARANOUS—under the name of Baal or Bel—was also worshipped by the Sumerians, a people who between 5000 B.C. and 4000 B.C. came to occupy South Mesopotamia. Their vast city ruins in Mesopotamia with magnificent monuments and works of art, with libraries containing thousands of documents, attest to their being one of the oldest civilized peoples known to history. Dating back to beyond 3500 B.C. the Sumerians are known to possess, among other things, "city-state and military phalanx; practical business and trade organisations; weights and measures; irrigation system; land system; the potter's wheel, skilful and artistic metallurgy and exquisite seal-cutting, the use of vault, arch, dome column and town in building; national and royal insignia; the use of the wheel as a practical machine; the beginnings of medical and surgical art and of geometry; star-reading; magic; a number system based on 60 as the unit, later resulting in the 360-degree circles; the lunar calendar; the water-clock and sun-dial; law and social organisation; a religion dominated by priestcraft with its propitiatory sacrifices, magic formulas, nature divinities, licentious rites, demons, and divination by the liver of the victim; cuneiform writing on clay tablets; and the religions and cosmological ideas expressed in their literature of epic, legend, and hymns.

Their Babylonian and Assyrian successors passed many of these accomplishments on to the Hittites, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and Persians, and through the Hittites Lydians, and Phœnicians to Greece, and thus finally to Western civilization. Perhaps the literature of the Sumerians embodying their religious and cosmological ideas, served as a model for the Genesis stories of Hebrew *Old Testament*. Their religious hymnology, influenced Hebrew psalmody. Their law, through the later Babylonian code, exerted much influence upon the so-called Mosaic Law of the Hebrews. And through Christianity these Sumerian achievements have shaped the religious thought and life of the West."[1]

I

The culture of the Sumerians was not restricted only to Southern Mesopotamia. Recent finds in Persia show that it comprised the whole of the central, west central and south-eastern Persia reaching down to the Arabian Sea.

[1] TREVER, *History of Ancient Civilisation*, 33.

The word *Arya* itself is derived from the Sumerian word *Ar* or *Ara* meaning "exalted" "lofty" "shining" "glory".[2] This term *Ara* or *Arya* is found throughout the languages of Aryan descent. Similarly the word *khatti* (with all the varied changes wrung on the word *kad, gut, khatti, hitite*) from which the Sanskrit word *kṣatra* and *kṣatriya* (Prakrit *khatiyo*) are derived, is Sumerian.[3]

The ethnic type of the Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs, was as different from the Semitic races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites. They were decidedly Indian in type ; dark-haired.

Before the Indus Civilization was unearthed HALL observed : "It is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented, and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stilus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam.

Alternative theories would bring the Sumerians from the north, either west or east of the Caspian, or would claim for them a Turanian (Mongoloid) origin. Certainly the construction of their language much resembles that of Turkish. The one solution that seems impossible is that of a Western origin."[4]

One of the claims thus made is that all the evidence points to the fact that in physical type, culture, religion and language and writing they were Aryans ; and that the Sumerian language in spite of its being agglutinative was identical in form, sound and meaning to the early Aryan speech.[5] This claim, though exaggerated, has a greater basis of truth in that they came from India or Persia than the claim of their having come from Europe.

II

The earlier Sumerian records disclose many features similar to those of the Atharvan tradition.

The Sumerians according to their own tradition were civilized by Oannes, a fish man, who came from the sea. He was not so much in the form of a fish, as a man having thrown over his head and shoulders and down almost to his feet, a cloak resembling a fish slit open down the belly. He is often identified with their god EA.[6] This resembles the description of the Matsyāvatāra ("incarnation of Fish") of Viṣṇu when he saved the

[2] Cf. WADDELL, *Makers of Civilisation*, 5.
[3] *Ibid*, 6.
[4] HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, 173 f.
[5] Cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.* 4.
[6] GADD, *History and Monuments of Ur*, 7.

Vedas. Every day Oannes would converse with the Sumerian king and his subjects until they gradually learnt from him all the things of civilization, "since which time", it is added, "nothing more has been invented". This persistent tradition definitely points to the Indian origin of the Sumerians; for there were no non-Semitic people of Sumerian features on any other coast of the Arabian Sea.

The next important feature of the Sumerian religion was the predominance of witchcraft and sorcery and the supremacy of the *Patesi*, the warrior priest-king, who governed their cities. The *Patesis* were the exact replica of the Atharvāṅgirases, the earliest known priests of magic and sorcery. Kavā Uśa would be one such. Ṛcika, the Bhṛgu of the Vedic period was such. These *Patesis* for several centuries maintained the power and strength of Sumer.

A Sumerian tablet of medical recipe claims that the contents were first delivered by the mouth of the ancient sages who lived before the flood of Shuruppak.[7] An elaborate ritual directs certain magical figures of clay and wood to be fashioned according to a prescribed pattern, and buried under the floor round about a room, specially set apart and consecrated in a temple, in which lies a man possessed of devils; these figures are all representative of diverse beings able to resist the incursion of fiends. Foremost among these are "seven figures of the sages, made of wood, crowned with the caps proper to them, and clothed in their proper clothing; in their right hands they bear a staff with its two ends scorched in the fire, with their left hands they clutch their breasts."[8] This reminds us of the sacred Saptarṣis of the Aryans and their rituals in which some object was consecrated and installed as representing them.[9]

The serpent worshipped at the principal shrine in the Sumerian city of Eridhu as the emblem of the earth goddess became the emblem of their race and religion. The Proto-medes also worshipped the snake symbol of the earth. Later only this serpent came to be identified by the Iranian Aryans with Angra Manyu, the Evil Spirit. The Atharvan tradition is also familiar with the idea of serpent worship.[10]

The mantras of the *Atharvaveda* relating to the cure from serpent's bites contain non-Aryan words, like *taimāta, āligī, viligī, urugūlas* and *tābuva*. *Taimāta* is, according to the *Atharvaveda*, a species of poisonous snake. *Tiamat* in the Sumerian records is the well-known androgynous dragon, whose fight with Marduk is the subject of their creation legends.[11] *Urugula* in Akkadian is the wide city of the nether world, the abode of the dead. In the *Atharvaveda* Urugula's daughter is a species of venomous

[7] *Ibid*, 9. [8] *Ibid*, 9.

[9] *Pāraskara G. Sū.* (Śrāvaṇīpaddhati) *Āhnikasūtrāvali*, Bombay (1923), 285 f.

[10] See *AV*, VIII. 7 and 8; XI. 9; XI. 6; etc. where serpents are invoked as gods.

[11] TILAK, "Chaldean and the Indian Vedas"; *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 33 f.

snake.[12] *Biligi* is an Assyrian god. *Āligi* and *viligī* are two kinds of snakes, for the charming of which mantras are given in the *Atharvaveda.*[13] *Ekimime* and *Dimma* are Akkadian words for spirits. *Kimidin* in the *Atharvaveda* means spirits.[14]

III

The legend of the flood, which finds no place in the Ṛgvedic mantras, appears in the *Avestā,* in the Chaldean records and in the *Atharvaveda,* the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.*

The Flood Story of the Sumerians is the origin of the Biblical story of the Flood. It is described as follows :—

"The storm and flood raged for six days and seven nights, and Ziusuddu, adrift on the waters, wept bitterly over the destruction of his fellows. Only the great peaks of the Mountain-Barrier rose out of the flood, and on one of these, the ark finally grounded and remained fast for a week. Ziusuddu goes on :

At the seventh day's coming I brought out and released a dove. The dove went off. She wandered about but alighting-place there was none and she returned. I brought out and released a swallow. The swallow went off. She wandered about, but alighting-place there was none and she returned. I brought out and released a raven. The raven went off and saw the abatement of the water. She fed, wading and dabbling ; did not return. I brought out and sacrificed a sacrifice unto the four winds. I made a drink offering on the high-place of the mountain ; set forth seven and seven flagons ; strewed below them cane, cedar and myrtle. The gods snuffed the savour, the gods snuffed the sweet savour ! The gods gathered together like flies about the master of the sacrifice ! At last the Divine Lady (i.e. Inanna) at her coming, listed up the great necklace that the god An had made according to her desire. 'Ye, the gods, even as I forget not the sapphires of my neck, so indeed will I remember these days and not forget them for ever. Let the gods come to the sacrifice ; but let not Enlil come to the sacrifice, because he would not be advised, but brought about the deluge and numbered my folk for destruction.' At last, the god Enlil, at his coming beheld the ship. Enlil was angry. He demanded how any mortal could have escaped. The wise and gentle god of the earth, Enki, began to reason with him.

'Thou chief of gods, thou champion, why, why wouldst thou not be advised but wouldst bring about a deluge ? On the sinner lay his sin, on the trespasser lay his trespass ! Be merciful, that he be not utterly cut off, clement that he be not altogether confounded. Rather than that thou shouldst bring about a deluge,

[12] *AV,* V. 13. 8 : उरुगूलाया दुहिता जाता दास्यसिक्न्या । प्रतङ्कं दद्रुपीणां सर्वासामरसं विषम् ॥

[13] *AV,* V. 13. 7 : आलिगी च विलिगी च पिता च माता च । विद्म वः सर्वतो वन्ध्वरसाः किं करिष्यथ ॥

[14] *AV,* I. 7. 1 : स्तुवानमग्न आ वह यातुधानं किमीदिनम् । त्वं हि देव वन्दितो हन्ता दस्योर्बभूविथ ॥ See also II. 24. 1.

let a lion come and diminish the folk. Rather than that thou shouldst bring about a deluge, let a hyaena come and diminish the folk'

The angry god relented as Enki continued to upbraid his hastiness in punishing the many for the sins of the few. Finally —

Enlil came up to the midst of the ship. He took my hand and brought me out, me even. He brought out my wife and caused her to kneel beside me. He touched our foreheads and standing between us, blessed us. 'Formerly, Ziusuddu was human. But now, Ziusuddu and his wife shall assuredly be like unto we gods, Ziusuddu and his wife shall dwell afar at the mouth of the Rivers."[15]

In the oldest Sumerian version, the Flood Story is told as part of the whole story of Sumer which included the story of the creation through the Flood up to the oldest dynasties of Sumer. The king-list also contains dynasties which flourished before the Flood; this is in marked contrast to the Puranic lists which begin from Manu after the Flood.

The legend of the Flood according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* runs as follows :—

"In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands. It spake to him the word, 'Rear me, I will save thee!' 'Wherefrom wilt thou save me?' 'A flood will carry away all these creatures; from that I will save thee!' 'How am I to rear thee?'

It said, 'As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us: fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction'.

It soon became a ghasha (a large fish); for that grows largest (of all fish). Thereupon it said, 'In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (i.e. to my advice) by preparing a ship; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship, and I will save thee from it.'

After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the advice of the fish) by preparing a ship; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly upto yonder northern mountain.

It then said, 'I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree; but let not the water cut thee off, whilst thou are on the mountain. As the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend! Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called 'Manu's descent'. The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here.

Being desirous of offspring, he engaged in worshipping and austerities. During this time he also performed a pāka-sacrifice: he offered up in the waters clari-

[15] CARLETON, *Buried Empires*, 64 ff.

fied butter, sour milk, whey, and curds. Thence a woman was produced in a year : becoming quite solid she rose ; clarified butter gathered in her footprint. Mitra and Varuna met her.

They said to her, 'Who are thou?' 'Manu's daughter' she replied, 'Say (thou art) our' they said. 'No' she said, 'I am (the daughter) of him who begat me'. They desired to have a share in her. She either agreed or did not agree, but passed by them. She came to Manu.

Manu said to her, 'Who are thou?' 'Thy daughter' she replied. 'How illustrious one, (art thou) my daughter?' he asked. She replied, 'Those offerings (of) clarified butter, sour milk, whey, and curds, which thou madest in the waters with them thou hast begotten me. I am the blessing (benediction) : make use of me at the sacrifice : If thou wilt make use of me at the sacrifice, thou wilt become rich in off-spring and cattle. Whatever blessing thou shalt invoke through me, all that shall be granted to thee!' He accordingly made use of her (as the benediction) in the middle of the sacrifice ; for what is intermediate between the fore-offerings and the after-offerings, is the middle of the sacrifice."[16]

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is the literature not of Vedic Aryans but of a people in which the Vedic and non-Vedic elements had been fused. The Śiśna-deva (the phallus) of the Dāsas of the Vedic period became the Iśāna, the greatest of gods. The legends of the Flood found in the *Śatapatha,* therefore, clearly indicate the close contact between the Atharvan Aryans and the Sumerians. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Fish which saves Manu and is the first incarnation of Viṣṇu has its counterpart in the divine Fish-Man Oannes, the god of waters identified with the God EA of the Sumerians.

Thus, in this particular respect, the tradition of the Atharvan Aryans is seen to have been reflected in the *Śatapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas,* the literature of the post-Vedic Aryans.

The Sumerians came into lower Mesopotamia by the sea. The Yadus landed in Kathiawar by sea, and so did the Puṇyajana Rākṣasas. The Sumerians, with some reason, may be credited with having something to do with the first Egyptian dynasty commencing with Manes (3000 B.C.). The Indus Valley (Pātāla) was connected with Sumer ; and Kārtavīryārjuna of the Vedic times, who had a navy, conquered it under the name of Pātāla and other lands beyond the sea from his capital at Broach.

[16] *Śat. Br.*, 1, 8, 1, 1-9 ; *SBE*, XII, 216 ff. See *AV*, XIX, 39. 8 ; also *Mbh.* III, 187 and *Matsyopākhyāna*, 49 ; the same tradition is reflected in later works such as *Manusmṛti.* The legend of the flood is narrated in *Manusmṛti*, I, 5, 6, 32, 33, 51, 52, 57.

CHAPTER IV

INDUS CIVILISATION AND THE WEST COAST

WADDELL identifies the Sumerians as the pretero-Phoenicians, the early pioneer mariners who from their capital on the Persian Gulf founded their great commercial colony overseas in the Indus Valley about 3100 B.C. But this theory is disproved by the fact that the Indus civilisation which has been unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa is much older than that of Sumer and was not an exotic growth in India.

I

The intermediate period of Mohenjo-Daro deposits is fixed between 2750 B.C. and 3250 B.C.[1] But it had a long antecedent history on the soil of India. A flourishing trade, more probably overland by way of Baluchistan than oversea, existed between Sumer and the Indus Valley from about 3000 B.C.[2]

The most important piece of evidence which attests to the influence of Indus civilisation on Sumer is the fashion of women toilets borrowed by Sumerian women from the Indus Valley.[3] From a monkey, a few beads, and a bunch of hair we do seem justified in drawing two major conclusions: (*i*) that the Indus civilisation existed in substantially the same form in which we find it at Mohenjo-Daro, at the time when the royal or priestly graves at Ur were being filled with gold and dead men's bones; and (*ii*) that the Sumerians first came into close contact with it at that time. Archæologists have been surprised at the wonderful and sudden flowering of material culture, the forward and upward impulse in all the arts and crafts, to which the 'Royal Tombs' bear witness. The problem of those tombs is still to be solved, but it is not inadmissible to speculate on whether something of the impetus which Sumerian culture undoubtedly received may not have been due to contact with a more sophisticated culture, whose home was the valley of the Indus and the broad plain of Five Rivers.[4]

But the Indus civilisation, in spite of its contact with Sumer, had a distinction of its own. There were no public temples as in Sumer, but great baths possibly situated near shrines which have been destroyed. Sculpture was not conventional as in Sumer, Akkad or Egypt. It was created by realists who tried to serve Nature herself. The fragments of a nude male

[1] MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, 104.
[2] CARLETON, *Buried Empires*, 160. [3] *Ibid.*, 161.
[4] *Ibid.*, 161 f.

statuette in red stone found at Harappa shows the body and thighs of a young man whose head and arms which are missing had apparently been carved separately and mortised to the trunk.[5] "For pure simplicity and feeling, nothing to compare with this glorious little masterpiece was produced until the great age of Hellas."[6] The ease and naturalness of the posture which characterise the exquisite bronze figure of a dancing girl discovered at Mohenjo-Daro also indicate the same freedom of art.[7]

The Indian Ocean and the Red Sea provided uninterrupted trade routes from the beginning of history. There were also the land routes through Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. The Indus Valley evidently used all of them prior to the fourth millennium before Christ.

The shape of some beads, bull sports and double cross designs are among the affinities discovered in the Minoan and Indus civilisations of which the earlier stages are contemporary with the early dynastic periods of Egypt and Sumer. Among the parallels discovered between the early Indian and Egyptian cultures are the copper terminals of necklaces or girdles and terra-cotta candle sticks and imitation shells, which served as spoons.[8]

II

The Indus Valley might have traded with Egypt of the Old Empire. Foreign sailing ships and even galleys visited the North Western Coast of India.[9] "Finally it looks as if some catastrophe overtook the cities of the Indus basin shortly after 3000 B.C. Mohenjo-Daro was deserted about this time, Harappa even earlier. Hence Sumer lost her civilised partner in the commerce of the East. The apparent contradiction, revealed in by a comparison between Egypt and Sumer is thus resolved : it showed Sumer definitely ahead of Egypt at the end of the fourth millennium ; a few centuries later the mutual positions of the two countries had been completely reversed. Egypt, entrenched at the head of the trade routes, supplying indispensable commodities and blessed with internal peace, had prospered. Sumer, her trade oppressed by exacting barbarian neighbours, rent by civil war, and deprived of Indian inspiration, could barely hold her own against the savagery that encompassed her, and lacked the energy for further progress save during the short intervals when a strong, but often alien, dynast could win for his city hegemony over all the rest."[10]

[5] MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, plate X, opp. 46. [6] CARLETON, *op. cit.*, 153.

[7] MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization*, III, plate XCIV, Fig. 14.

[8] DIKSHIT, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, 56 f.

[9] ERNEST MACKAY, *Indus Civilization*, 198.

[10] CHILDE, *The Most Ancient East* (1929), 218 f. That the study of scripts also points out the same fact of the contact is amply evidenced by the conclusions reached by Prof. G. R. HUNTER. They are given here for the interest of the readers :

"In the present fragmentary nature of our knowledge it is not possible to arrive at any final conclusion regarding the Proto-Indian script and its affinities. The provisional conclusions that I have reached on an examination of the evidence are these :—

The inland trade was also large. Stag-horns were brought from Kashmir. Semi-precious amazon-stone came from Kashmir or Nilgiri hills. Jadeite points to communications with Central Asia and gold to Southern India. Mysore supplied a beautiful green stone of which a cup was found at Mohenjo-Daro. Lapislazuli and perhaps a lead ore containing silver were brought from the further regions of Afghanistan. There was inland trade with Kathiawar.

The finds of the Indus Valley are closely connected with the stray finds recovered at Rajpur in the district of Bijanor, Mathura and Benares.[11]

The so-called Indus Civilisation was thus not restricted to the Indus Valley. There is definite evidence that it also extended to Sind, Kathiawar and the region round the Narmada and the Tapti.[12] It was at the ports of Cambay and Broach that the carnelian industry of India was concentrated, and the extensive use of this material in the Indus cities renders it almost certain that further investigation in the Narmada valley will bring to light other settlements of that period.

The western coastal region of the Indian peninsula, the greater portion of Kathiawar, the valleys of the North West Frontier Province, Sind, the Punjab, the upper Doab if not the whole of the Gangetic valley, and the habitable parts of Rajputana were thus comprised within the limits of this civilisation which can appropriately be called Indian.[13]

Further, there is enough evidence to show that in the region which comprised these parts of India and Mesopotamia, Persia and Afghanistan, the shores of the Persian Gulf and Baluchistan, and the West Coast of India at

(1) The script as we have it is mainly phonetic. (2) It had a pictographic and ideographic origin. (3) That origin was many centuries before 3,000 B.C., as is shown by the highly conventionalised form of the majority of the signs at that date. (4) There are clear affinities with Sumerian and Proto-Elamitic, which, in the case of Sumerian, increase as the difference in date increases, i.e., the resemblance of the script of Mohenjo-Daro to that of Jemdet Nasr (3500 B.C.) is much greater than its resemblance to the Sumerian of contemporary date (3,000—2,000 B.C.), showing that the common ancestry (or mutual borrowing) of the three scripts dates to before 4,000 B.C. (5) That the homomorphous signs, which are invariably silhouette, and are thus in marked contrast to the Sumerian (which used the head, neck and bust, but never the complete silhouette) suggest borrowing from Egypt. That the superficial (?) resemblances to Cretan, suggest the possibility of the existence in remote times of a very wide-spread race using a single pictographic system of writing. (7) That the Brahmi, Sabaean, a portion of the Cypriote and a portion of the Phoenician scripts are derived from Proto-Indian, due in the last three cases to commercial intercourse by sea via the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. It is possible that the Indians had the monopoly of sea-faring as far as the gulf of Suez, which would account for Hiram's eagerness for an alliance with Soloman that would allow the Phoenicians to establish a base at Eziongeber."—G. R. HUNTER: *The script of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and its connection with other scripts*, 21 f.

[11] DIKSHIT, op. cit., 54 f. [12] *op. cit.*, 12.

[13] *op. cit.*, 13.

least upto Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara, near Bombay) at the earliest period of which there is some definite history, there lived a race or rather races which were already in the chalcolithic stage of culture and whose civilisation is characterised by the production of a peculiar type of pottery. This civilisation, which they had evolved, spread to Turkestan and possibly even to China and eastward to Seistan and Baluchistan. Their culture came into contact both westward and eastward with different and equally ancient cultures.[14] On the west it contacted with Semitic civilisation and on the south-east the Dravidian, which contacts gave birth to the Semitic culture of the middle-east and the post-Vedic culture of India.

At this period, the centres of these cultures can possibly be the cities of Sumer, the cities of the Indus valley and ports of Kathiawar and the West Coast. Archæological research in future will possibly discover river settlements on the Narmada, the Tapti and the Sabarmati.

III

Two questions now arise : first, whether the Indus Valley culture was common with the culture of the West Coast ; secondly, whether it was the ancestor of the culture which is identified with the Atharvan or the Ṛgvedic culture.

The belief in spirits and the magical practices which form the basis of the Atharvan tradition and which appear to have been favoured by a section of the Vedic Aryans were typical of the Indus valley and Sumerian culture.

Were the Vedic Aryans the descendants of the authors of the Indus Civilisation, or were they alien from the ethnological point of view ? In the absence of contemporary human remains of diverse races ethnology cannot help us to determine the race to which either the Aryans, the Dravidians or the authors of the Indus civilisation belonged. All that we can do is to compare it with the Vedic civilisation to find out whether the latter was related or independent of the Indus valley culture. Now, the age of the latter culture is about 3000 B.C. The Vedic Aryans whose testimony is recorded in the present Ṛgvedic mantras flourished somewhere between 1500 and 2000 B.C. In all comparison, therefore, we must take into account the lapse of ten to fifteen centuries of evolution.

The cult of the Mother Goddess which prevailed from the Nile to the Indus valley from the earliest times is accepted by the Puranic literature. *Devī Bhāgavata* is wholly devoted to it, and so are sections of the *Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmavaivarta* and *Skanda Purāṇas*. The Goddess is worshipped there as Ambā the mother, as Kālī the fierce, as Lalitā the alluring, as Pārvatī the spouse of Śiva, as Tripurasundarī the presiding deity of bacchanalian festivities. From the earliest times she was worshipped as *Grāma-*

[14] CARLETON, *op. cit.*, 42.

devatā the protectress of villages, as *Kuladevatā* the guardian of families[15] and as the goddess of fertility ; pre-eminently as *mātā* the Mother ; *mahādevī*, the mother of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva ; as *parāśakti*,[16] mother of the Universe and of the gods. The spirit of the cult of Isis of Egypt, of Inanna of Sumer, of Ishtar of Babylon, of the Mother Goddess in the Indus Valley pervades Hinduism throughout India.

This worship in India can be traced to the cult of the Mother Goddess prevalent in the Indus Valley.[17]

This cult in the Indus Valley was closely connected with the cult of her consort ; so it was in Sumer.

Both the Mother Goddesses of Sumer and of the Indus Valley had a lion for their mount, while their consort had a bull. At both the places she was conceived both as a virgin and wedded, and associated with hills and mountains.

In Gujarat the cult of the Mother Goddess is both ancient and widespread. The shrines of Ambājī at Arasur and that of Bahucarājī near Mehsana are ancient. The latter is associated with eunuchs like the ancient shrine of the Goddess in Asia Minor. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, with its famous *Caṇḍīpāṭha*, a unique prayer to the Mother Militant, was composed on the banks of the Narmada[18] where stand old temples of Sindhvai (Skt. Siṁhavāsinī). The goddess of yet another famous shrine in Gujarat, Hinglaj, is Nannādevī (cf. Sumerian name Nana (Nania ?) and is still worshipped on festive occasions as Rannādevi.[19] The old customs in a caste of Brāhmaṇa settled on the banks of the Narmada, traditionally at least since the Vedic period, have various forms of worship of the goddess of fertility.[20] Though Śiva is its guardian god, the caste temple has near its entrance a crude image of a Devī to which on every solemn occasion and particularly on marriage, first obeisance has to be made ; and on every such occasion the *mātā* is worshipped in a queer archaic manner. Little points of mud are affixed to a wall to represent her. She is also 'sown',[21] that is, grain seeds are sown in a basketful of earth and the sprouts when they appear represent the deity, the goddess of fertility. Great devotees of the *mātā* generally keep several figurines of the *mātā* all over the house. This worship was distinctly an earlier level of religious belief, far anterior to the time when Vedic and Puranic rituals imparted new beliefs and forms to the ceremonies.

15 Cf. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization*, I, 51 ; cf. also MONIER WILLIAMS, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, 225.

16 *Brahmand*, IV, 13.

17 Cf. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, 57 f ; cf. also, MACKAY, *op. cit.*, 66 ff.

18 PARGITER, *Mārkaṅdeya* (Calcutta, 1904), intr. viii ff.

19 Cf. *Calcutta Review*, May 1931, 236.

20 D. C. MUNSHI, *Bhārgava Brāhmaṇa-no Itihāsa*, 113.

21 "માતા વાવવાં;" see D. C. MUNSHI, *op. cit.*, 113.

The goddess worship in India, therefore, is certainly an inseverable part of the world-wide cult of the Mother Goddess, as would appear from the aspects in which she was worshipped. The virgin-earth goddess Inaani of Sumer, the loose and versatile Ishtar of Babylon were the same as the great mother Isis of Egypt, the spouse of the god Osiras, who like Gaurī of India had conquered death through love. Isis like Kālī or Ambā represented the supremacy of the female in creation ; Horues, the Sun, was born of her. The poet sang of her Babylonian prototype.

The Phoenicians worshipped her as Astarte ; sometimes the goddess of a cold chastity ; at other, as the deity of love.

IV

The Vedic goddesses are clearly the aspects of the same Mother Goddess, rendered more attractive by having passed through the imagination of generations of priests who had a rare gift of etheralising religious concepts. The *Ṛgveda* again is only a small part of the hymns with which the Vedic Aryans in India used to placate their gods. There must have been several lower strata of Aryan society whose worship has not been reflected in it. As a matter of fact the hymns in the *Atharvaveda* extolling the Virāj bear clear traces of being recast from an older hymn—a hymn dedicated to the Mother-Goddess.[22]

Virāj is a female deity of great importance in rank with Indra and Agni.[23] She is identified with Aditī, the mother of gods,[24] and is also identified with the wife of Indra.[25]

The view that the cult of Mother Goddess was not known to the Vedic Aryans and therefore they could not have had any connection with the Indus culture does not bear scrutiny.

In the *Ṛgveda* the Mother Goddess is worshipped in two aspects. Pṛthivī and Aditī represent the mother aspect ; Uṣas and, later, the Sarasvatī, the virgin aspect.

Pṛthivī is Indra's daughter, and yet surrenders herself to Indra like a loving wife.[26] She is the mother of Agni[27] and is impregnated by the Maruts, by the Ādityas, by Soma.[28] She is the consort of Dyaus ; and is the same as Aditī, and Pṛṣṇī.[29] Aditī protects men from sin and hatred.[30] She, like Ishtar, intercedes with gods for men.[31] She is without rival, irresistible.[32]

22 *AV*, VIII, 9 and 10.
23 *AV*, VIII. 5. 10 ; 8. 23.
24 *AV*, XII, 3. 11.
25 *Bṛh. Up.* IV, 2. 3 ; SBE, XV, 159.
26 *RV*, V. 32. 10.
27 *RV*, V. 42. 13 ; X. 4. 3.
28 *RV*, V. 58. 7 ; IX. 74. 5.
29 *RV*, I. 164. 8 ; 185. 3.
30 *RV*, I. 185. 10.
31 *RV*, VII, 93. 7 ; VIII. 48. 2 ; X. 12. 8.
32 *RV*, VIII, 18. 6 ; VII. 40. 4.

Uṣas (or Sūryā) is a magnificent goddess, the mother, daughter and wife of Sūrya, wife of Aśvins, mistress of Agnī.[33] Soma runs after Uṣas; the ancient fathers are also her associates. The Aṅgirasas made her great. The Vasiṣṭhas sang to her.[34] She is rebellious, destructive, revengeful, and like the enemies of Sudās in the Battle of Ten Kings, 'Indra-less', i.e., a goddess of Aryans who did not worship Indra.[35] Indra sharpened his weapon to destroy her[36] and destroyed her chariot.[37]

She is white, perennially youthful, of radiant beauty.[38] Demurely she approaches Sūrya, baring her breasts to his view.[39] She is a maiden,[40] and yet warlike. She can expel enemies, destroy them;[41] she gives birth to things;[42] this highest goddess of all, a mighty goddess, mother of gods, Aditi's rival.[43] She is the veritable Lalitā of the Śakti cult, Inaani, the virgin, and the mighty Ishtar of many loves; an Artemis and Aphrodite; the Mother Goddess of Indus, Sumer and Egypt. With the Vedic Aryans Aditī and Uṣas were what Juno and Aphrodite were to the Greeks, what Ambā and Lalitā were to the West Coast; the same Mother Goddess.

V

The Indus Valley worshipped Śiva not only in his form as a phallus but as Paśupati. He is depicted as a nude deity, with horns and three faces. He is carved on a seal as seated on a stool with his heels pressed closely together in Yogāsana. Surrounding him are a number of animals —two deer or antelopes, a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo. The humped bull—Nandi—was also a sacred animal.[44]

It is likely that Śiva may have had four faces, one not being visible. Trimukha Śivas also are well known to several parts of India. It is likely that Trimukha Śiva of 3000 B.C. suggested the subsequent Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the *Śiva Purāṇa* when it places Śiva as the oldest has more than a tradition behind it. Śiva is both a Yogī and Paśupati.[45] Paśupati had an ancient connection with the West Coast.

The shrine of Somanāth in Kathiawar was pre-historic; a sea-shore shrine conceivably of the days when Kathiawar was Kuśavrata, and Kuśasthalī was somewhere near the place where Somanāth shrine stands and stood before Dharma visited it.[46] It was a centre of the Pāśupata cult for

[33] *RV*, I, 113. 2; 116. 17; 177. 13; 119. 5; 69. 1 and 5; 92. 11; 152. 4; VII. 9, 1; X. 3, 3.

[34] *RV*, IX. 93. 1; VII. 76. 4.

[35] *RV*, VII. 18. 16; 80. 1.

[36] *RV*. IV. 23. 7.

[37] *RV*, IV. 30. 8.

[38] *RV*. I. 113. 2 and 7; V. 47. 1.

[39] *RV*, I. 123. 10.

[40] *RV*. I. 123, 10-11; 119. 5; 152. 4.

[41] *RV*, I. 48. 8 and 13; VII. 81. 6; IV. 52. 4.

[42] *RV*, IV. 5, 13.

[43] *RV*, VII. 79. 3; VII. 81. 4; I. 113. 19.

[44] MACKAY, *op. cit.*, 70.

[45] MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, 54.

[46] *Mbh.*, III. 118. 15: तीर्थं प्रभासं समुपाजगाम। also, III. 119, 1, 3.

centuries. Near the port of Karpāsikā near Broach was born in the 2nd century Nakuleśa or Lakuleśa, the last of the great Pāśupata teachers[47] indicating again that the Māhiṣmatī of Vedic times which was near Broach may have been the centre of the cult. Sahasrārjuna, its royal founder of the Aryan lineage, was a devotee of Śiva, not of Vedic gods. He gained his prowess by propitiating Dattātraya, the three faced god, embodying trinity.[48]

Rudra of the *Ṛgveda* is not an insignificant deity, nor is he a nature god. He is the Puranic Śiva and toned down to fit into a pantheon presided over by Varuṇa, and later, by Indra. He is fierce, destructive like a terrible beast.[49] He is a bull, exalted, the strongest amongst the strong, rapid and swift. He is unaging Asura,[50] the Asura of heaven, ruling heroes,[51] lord (Iśāna) of the whole world, its father.[52] He is wise, beneficent, auspicious, Śiva.[53] He is malevolent too, and assails his victim with missiles, fever, cough and poison.[54]

It is clear that he was worshipped in image. He is described as possessing firm limbs, beautiful lips, a fat belly and brown colour. He wears braided hair, wields a thunderbolt, is armed with bow and arrow. He is decked with gold ornaments, and a multiform necklace.[55] He is also *tryambaka*.[56] A painted image of his is also described.[57]

Here we have a complete picture of an image of Śiva as described by Vedic Aryans, and there is nothing surprising if, after a thousand years, the Paśupati of Harappa became the Rudra of the same race in the Punjab.

VI

The horse is not found in the intermediate period of the Indus civilisation from 3250 B.C. to 2750 B.C., but only in the later period. He is an invaluable and inseparable companion of the empire-making Aryans including the Hyksos, and the Kassites. The Vedic Aryans appeared with it between 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. The Sumerians, the Indus valley people and the people of the West Coast are not acquainted with it. But a gap of 1500 years would be more than enough for the Aryan race occupying parts of Mesopotamia, Persia, the Punjab, the Indus Valley and the West Coast to domesticate the wild horse and bring it in use.

[47] *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, 69; D. K. SHASTRI, *Shaiva Dharma-no Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa*, 44.

[48] *Matsya*, 43; *Vāyu*, II. 32; *Hari*, I. 33; *Padma*, V. 12.

[49] *RV*, II, 33. 7-11.

[50] *RV*. I. 43. 1; II, 33. 3; VII, 10. 4; II, 1. 6.

[51] *RV*, II. 1. 6.

[52] *RV*, II. 33. 9; VI. 49. 10.

[53] *RV*, I. 43. 1; 114. 4; II. 33. 7.

[54] *AV*, VI. 93; XI. 2.

[55] *RV*, II. 33. 5; 9-11; I. 43. 5; 114. 5.

[56] *RV*, VII. 59. 12.

[57] *RV*, II. 33. 9.

CHAPTER V

THE STARTING POINT OF ARYAN MIGRATIONS

THE Vedic Aryans whose record is contained in the *Ṛgveda* were, either directly or more probably through the Atharvan Aryans of the West Coast and Persia, in contact with the Sumerians.

I

The word *kimidi* appears in the *Atharvaveda* for "goblins." The Chaldean *yahva* was the original of the Hebrew *Jehova*. The word *yahva* is used in the *Ṛgveda* for "great" as addressed to a god. The other words derived from the same root are *yahu, yahvat, yahvī* and *yahvatī*. The Chaldean word *zu-ab* (written so, but pronounced *ab-zu*) means "the primeval chaos" or "watery abyss," the husband of Tiamat. The word *apsu* in *Apsujit* for Indra used in the *Ṛgveda* also means "the watery chaos" and is the same word as the Sumerian *ab-zu*. The Chaldean word for month is *itu*; the Vedic for season being *ṛtu*.

But the most interesting link is furnished by the Sumerian myth of the conquest of the Abzu of Tiamat and the Vedic myth of the conquest of Vṛtra. A summary of both legends is given here to facilitate comparison.

Before the creation Apsu, the unopened Deep, was the father and Mummu Tiamat ("the Chaos of the Sea") was the mother of them all. Their waters were embosomed as one, and the cornfield was harvested, the pastures ungrown. Lakhmu and Lakhamu were the children of Apsu and Tiamat; they, in their turn, gave birth to Anshar and Kishar. Anshar and Kishar then gave birth to Amu, Bel and Ea. Bel Marduk said to Tiamat, "Stand up, and I and thou will fight together." Tiamat uttered spells, repeated her commands and recited incantations. Tiamat had gods for her allies. Marduk drew a square round Tiamat and shattered her with a club and stood upon her. Apsu, her husband, also was killed by Marduk. Her allies, the gods, escaped and saved their lives but they were caught by Marduk and were kept in bondage. Marduk established the victory of Anshar and urged on the waters that were not issuing forth. He lit up the sky. Amu, Bel and Ea, Marduk's father, lived in the heavens created out of the image of Tiamat. Marduk created the twin mansions of the great gods, the stars, and the signs of the Zodiac. He founded the mansion of the Sun, god Bel and Ea, fixed the moon, and settled the path of the sun.[1]

This may be compared with the Ṛgvedic story.

Vṛtra gave birth to Ahi. *Ahi* ("serpent") was the first-born of all the Ahis. His father was Tvaṣṭr. He had encompassed the Sun, Dawn and the waters.[2] In the beginning was darkness; the darkness enfolding all was undistinguishable water.[3]

[1] *HHW*, I, 520 f. [2] *RV*, I. 32. 4. [3] *RV*, X. 129. 3.

Vṛtra lay slumbering on the waters which he had obstructed, and a draught was the result. He resided in darkness, appropriated to himself the good of all living creatures.[4] Dyāvā and Pṛthivī gave birth to the gods.[5] They gave birth to seven Ādityas of whom Aryaman, Mitra and Varuṇa were the most excellent[6]. Only six Ādityas are first mentioned, the three most excellent and the three others : Aṁśa, Dakṣa, and Bhaga.[7] Seventh is not named in the hymns. Vṛtra was *māyāvin*, guileful and full of treachery. He cast spells when he commenced his fight with Indra.[8] Indra killed Vṛtra with the Vajra which was originally stated to have been made of stone[9] or bone.[10] Only later it was described as of iron[11] or gold.[12] The mother of Vṛtra was slain along with Vṛtra by Indra and both lay down below the waters.[13] Indra also destroyed Apsu and acquired the appellation, *Apsujit*.[14] Indra, by killing the first-born among the Ahis, destroyed the delusion of deluders and then created the sun, dawn, and the firmament and had no one to oppose him.[15]

The Sumerian and the Vedic legends, in incident and narration, are two versions of the same legend. The remarkable feature of both the legends is that the victor in both the cases is the conqueror of Apsu. The Vedic myth is completely localised in the Saptasindhu by its associations with Sarasvatī, Soma and Kurukṣetra. The Sumerian legend is of maritime people; the Vedic myth is of a region of mountains and rivers. The Sumerian myth emphasises the club ; the earliest Vedic one is connected with a flint or bone weapon. Both the myths must therefore have taken shape from some original, before the stories were adjusted to suit the habitat of the two peoples.

Marduk killed Apsu and Tiamat, the parents of an elevenfold offspring, who were kept in bondage. According to the *Ṛgveda* an old god Mārḍika, who was opposed to Indra, killed his father Dyāvā, and in consequence was not recognised as a *deva*.[16] Perhaps this story indicates the germ of a tradition of conflict between the worshippers of Marduk (or Bel) and the Dyau-worshipping Aryans.

The conclusions may be summarised :

1. Indra was a later god of the Vedic Aryans and his cult was developed in the Saptasindhu.

2. When the Indra cult began there was a schism between those following the cult and the rest of the Varuṇa-worshipping Aryans. This must have occurred long before the Battle of Ten Kings, for the cosmogony of the Vedic Aryans at the date of the Battle had come to be connected with Indra, Sarasvatī and the Saptasindhu.

Long before the Indra cult arose, the Atharvan belt of the Aryans

[4] *RV*, V. 32. 2-4 ; II. 11. 5. [5] *RV*, I. 159. 1 ; III. 3. 11 ; VII. 53. 2.
[6] *RV*. I. 27. 8. [7] *RV*, II. 27. 1. [8] cf. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, 530.
[9] *RV*, VII. 104. 5. [10] *RV*, I. 84. 13. [11] *RV*, I. 56. 3.
[12] *RV*, I. 85 9. [13] *RV*, I. 32. 8 & 9.
[14] *RV*, VIII. 13. 2 ; 36. 1 ; IX. 106. 3. See also *SBE*, XXXII, 115 and XLII, 146.
[15] *RV*, I. 32. 4 ; VI. 30. 5. [16] *RV*, IV. 18. 12.

and the forefathers of the Vedic Aryans believed in a god younger than Varuṇa or Vala,[17] whose principal exploit was the destruction of Vṛtra, the serpent or dragon of chaos, and the release of fertilising waters. This minor god who had killed Ahi—Vṛtra, or the dragon of Draught and Darkness—to release the waters, did not form part of the myths of the Aryans who were in Europe; but it did form part of the traditions of Iran, Sumer and the Saptasindhu and presumably of the Indus Valley.

Before the rise of the Indra cult, Indra attracted to himself the exploits of the other god Vṛtraghna or Verethregna who had destroyed Vṛtra, the serpent or dragon of chaos.[18] This event must have happened before the schism between the Vedic and the Iranian Aryans.

Dyāvā Pitar or Parjaṅya was the supreme deity of the Aryans who wielded thunderbolt. Varuṇa or Uranus inherited his qualities. But later the son or successor of Varuṇa became the dominant god, the killer of Vṛtra and the wielder of the thunderbolt. In the original myth the weapon used was the club, a stone or bone. The thunderbolt of Parjaṅya or Dyaus was its later transformation.

In this myth the name of the gods Marduk or Mārḍika or Vala and Baal were common names and the conqueror was Apsujit. If Bala, Baal or Bel was the same as Varuṇa, a younger and more vigorous god when he entered the pantheon would naturally destroy the enemy and instal his father in the heavens.

II

In no event, however, the rise of the Indra cult can be placed later than 1800 B.C. when a branch of the Aryans, the Khattis (Hittites, Khattio, Skt. *Kṣatriya*) carried the worship of Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa to Cappadocia as disclosed by the Boghaz-Koi tablets.

The Kashshis were Aryans and spoke an Aryan tongue.[19] Their chief gods were Suryash (*Sūrya*) and Marutash (*Maruts*). Bugash (*Bhaga*) was the term they used for a god. Indra-bugash (Vindafrana, Intaphernes, Skt. *Indrabhaga*) is clearly Aryan. In the north the kingdom of Mittani was also founded by their advance guard. Their kings were styled Saushshatar (*Kṣatra*) Artatamo (*Ārtatama*) Shutarna (*Sutarṇa*) Dushratta (*Daśaratha*). The Mittani Aryan kings worshipped Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya (Aśvins).[20] The Khattis in addition used many other Sanskrit words e.g. aika (*eka*), sata (*sapta*) ejja (*ad*, to eat), uga (*aham*, I), tug (*tvam, tva*), vesh (*vayam*, we,) Mu (*mama*, me) kuish (*kah*, who) knit

[17] cf. DAS, *Rgvedic India*, 192.

[18] *RV*, II. 12. 11; IV. 30. 7; also *Vedic Mythology*, 152 and 158.

[19] Re. WADDELL, *Makers of Civilisation*, to get a proper idea of the similarity in sound and meaning between the words used by the Khattis and the Aryans, often occurring in this chapter.

[20] HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East* (London, 1927), 201; also, *Woolner Memorial Volume*, 137.

(*Kīdṛśa*) asvva (*aśva,* horse). Ma and Attis were also Khatti gods. With them were worshipped Mithras, the Sun (*Mitra*) and Men the moon, identified with the Iranian Mao. They were worshipped with the Aryan deities Indra and Varuṇa by the royal family and the nobles in the land of Mittani.[21]

These races could not be the advance guard of the Indo-Europeans migrating from Europe towards the Saptasindhu but of Vedic Aryans of the Indra cult who were of the same stock as Kashshi or Kashshu or the Indian Kāśis, who fought the Haihayas in the Vedic period.[22] These Kāśis conquered Babylon about 1800 B.C. and ruled it till 1230 B.C. The Indra Cult to be carried by the Kashshis to Babylon must have arisen not later than 1900 B.C.

On the theory of the Vedic Aryans having migrated from Europe to the Saptasindhu we may have to accept the possibility of the Aryans following the Dyaus cult in Europe, evolving Indra Cult in Asia Minor on their way, reverting to Varuṇa Cult and reducing Indra to a demon in Persia, and ultimately making Indra the greatest of gods on the banks of the Sarasvatī in India. It must also be assumed on this hypothesis that these migrating Aryans spoke some words of Vedic speech perfectly in Asia Minor, lost its accuracy in Persia and regained it in the Punjab ; that they used *aika, sata, nāsatya, Mitra* in Asia Minor ; turned them into *aeva, hapta, naonhaitya* and *Mithra* in Iran ; and at the end of their journey in the Punjab began to use the older forms, *eka, sapta, nāstya* and *Mitra.* The more natural inference is that the Khattis and the Kashshi peoples drifted away from a point where the Vedic names of the gods were spoken and where Indra worship was prevalent. The West Punjab, the Indus Valley and Eastern Iran would be such a point.

III

One of the most important and none the less intriguing problems of history is to find out where the original Aryans developed their language and culture. The theory in vogue with the Western scholars that the Aryans entered India possibly by way of Kashmir and came into conflict with a hostile, dark-skinned, flat-nosed people whom they overcame has to be re-examined dispassionately in the light of the discoveries in the Indus valley.

Certain words defined with little precision have been confusing in the discussion of this problem. For instance, the words Indo-European or Indo-Germanic, as applied to languages which are proved to have a common Aryan origin have often been applied to the peoples who now use them. "It is hardly necessary to point out that in many parts of the world the speaker of a particular language at a given time was not by lineal descent the representative of its speakers at an earlier period. ...

The name Indo-Germanic therefore suffers from the ambiguity that it characterises not only languages but also peoples."[23]

Speaking an Indo-European language is not the same thing as being of the Aryan race; nor does it necessarily imply blood-relationship with the original Aryans. "There certainly are widespread and considerable errors concerning this relationship of the Indo-European people prevailing even to-day. People speak of an Indo-European "race" which does not exist at all, and never has existed."[24]

These so-called Indo-European or Indo-Germanic languages are spread over a greater part of Europe, Asia and America. They contain sufficient common material to justify, by necessary implication, the conclusion that many of their vocables, forms and sounds are the evolved, modified or corrupted forms of one parent speech, developed by a single race, living in a segregated area. This race cannot be identified only with the occupants or the so-called invaders of India and Persia from whom the Vedic Aryans and the Indo-Iranians were descended.

The name 'Aryan' as applicable to a race can only be applied to these occupants or invaders of India and Persia and their language. But their language was the parent of the great and important group of languages called Indo-European or Indo-Germanic; and consequently the word 'Aryan' may more aptly be used to describe the whole of the language group[25]. To apply the word to the races who speak any branch of it is historically inaccurate. Equally inaccurate it is to claim that the original Aryans belonged to the racial group called "Nordic", a group recognised by anthropologists and characterised by fair skin, blond hair, long narrow skulls and large bones; and that from their primitive tongue all the different languages of the Indo-Germanic family are derived.[26] There is no plausible proof of this, any more than of the still wilder theory which would make these imaginary blond 'Proto-Aryans' a nation of supermen, the founders of European culture, whose 'racially pure' descendants are claimed to be natural masters and rulers of all other peoples.

The so-called Indo-Germanic languages or Indo-European languages or the linguistic family of the Aryan languages consist of the following branches[27]:

(1) European i.e. Italic, Hellenic, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, Lithuanic, or Lattic and Albanian.
(2) Indic, i.e. languages derived from Sanskrit.
(3) Iranic, i.e. Avestan, Persian, Pushtu, Baluchi, Kurdish and Ossetic.
(4) The Armenian.

[23] *Cambridge History of India*, I, 66.
[24] WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, I, intr. 5.
[25] CARLETON, *Buried Empires*, 137 f. [26] *Ibid*, 137 f.
[27] cf. TAYLOR, *Origin of the Aryans*, 2.

(5) The Tokharian.[28]

On a comparative study of these languages European scholars have taken the early home of the Pretero-Aryans to different countries in Asia and Europe, basing their arguments on the presence of vocables in the different languages developed from the parent Aryan language. The argument, shortly put, is, first, that the Aryan languages in Europe do not possess vocables for Indian flora and fauna; secondly, European flora and fauna are not represented in the vocables of Asiatic Aryan languages; and therefore, the Pretero-Aryans could not have been natives of Asia.

The argument is based on an unwarranted assumption. Any comparison between the Vedic speech and any language spoken later in point of time assumes, that the speakers of the later language have during the intervening period remained completely unaffected by alien speech, habits and surroundings. This assumption is obviously absurd. Unless the history of each common word in the course of its migration can be traced, which is impossible, any reconstruction of a common language out of such materials is bound to lead to erroneous conclusions. For instance, the theory once accepted of the migration of Aryans on the hypothesis that the Centum group was European and the Satem was Asiatic is now exploded by the discovery of a Centum group language in Tokharistan.

Vedic Sanskrit again has the largest number of vocables found in the Aryan languages. These are preserved in the languages of the Sanskritic family in different parts of India even when there has been inter-racial contact for centuries. On the other hand if the pre-Vedic Aryan language was spoken in different parts of Europe and Asia where the Aryans had settled before coming to India, how is it that only a few vocables are left in the present day speech of those parts, while the largest number of them is found in the distant places of ultimate settlement and racial admixture in India? On the contrary this disparity can easily be explained if the pre-Vedic was the language of the homeland of Aryans and the other Aryan languages came into existence as a result of the contact between migrating Aryans and non-Aryan elements outside India and Persia.

Vocables of the Aryan speech not common to other Aryan languages of Asia and Europe are found in Vedic Sanskrit. This also points to Vedic Sanskrit as being the oldest and the most unadulterated form of Indo-Aryan speech destroying the theory that the Saptasindhu was the end of the journey.

IV

The Vedic Aryans were not a race coming into but going out of the Saptasindhu[29]. If the *Nīlamata* on which Prof. KALLA relies embodies any record, it points to the fact that at one time Kashmir was a lake and when

[28] KEITH, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 91 f.

[29] cf. *RV*. X. 65. 11.

it was drained off it was occupied by the Aryans under the name of *Kaśyapa mira*[30]. Kashmir was therefore colonised by migrating Aryans from the Saptasindhu. This is consistent with the expansive movement in India which is illustrated by the expanding boundaries of Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta.

The Vedic literature is the earliest extant record of the Aryan mind. How is it that in the course of their journey to the Saptasindhu the Aryans left no such record elsewhere? This absence of literary record in other countries cannot be explained away by a hypothesis that the Aryans only reached a high stage of cultural evolution in India. For, if this hypothesis were correct and the Aryans had settled in India for a very long time during which they evolved a distinctive culture, the Vedic literary tradition, and the technique of preserving it, the period of immigration in India would have to be pushed back by several centuries before the Battle of Ten Kings. On the other hand the non-existence in other countries of any similar Aryan literature or culture contemporary with the Vedic can more easily be explained if the Aryans started their peregrinations from somewhere in North West of India some centuries before the Battle. The migration being only of the superfluous population of roving tribes without great cultural development, they could not impart the literary and cultural tradition to the countries in which they ultimately settled. This fact would with difficulty be adjusted with the fact that the Aryan movements in Asia, Europe and Egypt can be fixed with certainty between 2200 B.C. and 1700 B.C.

Aryans, it is said, could not be the natives of India, for they cannot flourish side by side with the Dravidians. This argument presupposes

(*a*) that the Saptasindhu and the rest of India were geographically one as in Post-Vedic times;

(*b*) that Dravidian traces, both linguistic and ethnological, in the Punjab, Kashmir and North West Frontier Province and the Indus Valley are so strong as necessarily to imply the displacement of Dravidians by the Aryans.

Both these implications are negatived by facts. The Saptasindhu and the Indus Valley, as geological development shows, were difficult of access from the South. There are very little ethnic traces of Dravidians in the Saptasindhu at present and the Vedic Sanskrit bears little or no Dravidian influence. Whatever traces are there can be better explained by later rather than earlier contact.

The argument also ignores the important fact that race persists while language changes and that the Aryan speech is known to annihilate the non-Aryan, whenever it comes into contact with the latter. The Celts, the Slavs, the Lithuanians, the Hellenes, and the Latvians were Aryan in speech but Mongolian or Turanian in physical type.

An aspect of the same argument is that Lithuanian is archaic and therefore Lithuania is likely to be the cradle of the Aryans[31]. But a language remains archaic even when the persons using it are unprogressive; or if they remain in a locality where no fusion is possible with races speaking other languages; or if they develop a highly refined technique for preserving and using archaic forms. The Lithuanians do not fall under the last category but the archaic form of their language can be explained by their certainly being unprogressive and situated in the farthest corner of Europe[32]. If Lithuania was the cradle of the Aryans, how is it that the Vedic Aryans after crossing a continent and a half during which they must have contacted alien speech, not only retained the archaic nature of Vedic Sanskrit but in India alone evolved not only a literature in that language but also the art of retaining its form?

The ancient Iranian language and literature are influenced by foreign elements, though they point to Vedic originals. On the other hand an analysis of the Indo-European languages indicates that one line of migration must have been from Iran to Slavo-Lithuania and to Teutonia and again another from Iran to Greece and Italy. If the home was in Europe, the Aryan words in Slav, Lithuanian and Teutonic should have been many more than what they are found and least in the farthest place of settlement like India.

In the result the argument in favour of a European origin of Aryans based on philological reasons is scarcely conclusive.

V

The chronological aspect of the Aryan settlements in the Nile and Indus Valleys yields also a similar result.

About 2800 B.C. when the Intermediate period of the Indus Civilisation was coming to its end Sargon consolidated Sumer and Akkad[33]. He and his successors led their armies against the Semites to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The language and culture of this empire was Sumerian. The Sumerian kings maintained the central control of the ruling race, through the Patesi or the priest kings of different cities.

In 2123 B.C. Hammarabi, the king of Babylon, displacing the old rulers, united the country, but the rule passed into the hands of the Semites[34]. Now in 1746 B.C. the Kassites, Kashshu-Kashshi, an Aryan people same as the Kāśi tribe of ancient India, who lived to the east of Babylon, took the country and ruled over it for 600 years. Long before the third millennium, the civilisation of Iran-Ariana was connected with that of Sumer[35].

31 TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, 20 ff and 258 f. 32 DAS, *Rgvedic Culture*, 177 and 327.

33 Scholars disagree as to whether Sargon was a Semite or a Sumerian.

34 ROSTOVTZETT, *History of the Ancient World*, 31. WADDELL considers him a Sumerian. cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, 196.

35 ROSTOVTZETT, *op. cit.*, 6.

As early as the third millennium B.C. the great movement of the Aryan race began in Western Europe and Middle East. Its successive waves created the large states of Khati—Khattis (Pkt. *Khattio* ; Skt. *Kṣatriya*) in Asia Minor, of Mittan on the Euphrates and drove the Kassites to Babylon. A confederacy of tribes predominantly Aryan, called Hyksos (Skt. *Ikṣvāku* ?), occupied Egypt about 1800 B.C.[36]

The empire of the Hittites (khatti) founded in Asia Minor rose to great power in 1500 B.C. The first emperor, Labarnis, ruled over a people who spoke an Indo-Aryan language. With them first appeared the horse and the chariot, the companion of the early Aryans, and the Babylonians for want of a name called it 'the mountain ass.'[37] The Aryans of Iran and Thrace with Armenians and Georgians destroyed the Hittite empire and founded the powerful kingdom of Van which reached its zenith in 800 B.C.

From 1110 to 624 B.C. the Semitic Empire of Assyria replaced the decadent power of the Kassites in Mesopotamia. Assyrian cruelty had become proverbial. By 800 B.C., however, the Indo-Iranian tribes within the empire began a spreading-out movement. The first of these were Medes and Mannai. In 550 B.C. the Median kingdom was conquered by Cyrus, the fifth king of the Indo-Iranian tribes, who laid the foundation of an Aryan empire which extended over two continents. His successor Darius described himself as the *Ārya*, of Aryan descent.

This rapid survey becomes necessary to realise that between the Aegean, the Nile and the Indus regions from 4000 B.C. to 500 B.C. Aryan people in one continuous surging flood contacted the Semites, founded empires, spread their culture, shaped and vitalized life.

The Indian history yields also helpful chronological sequence. In c 483 B.C. Aryan Prince Vijaya set sail for Jāvā from Simhapur in Kathiawar. Lord Buddha is born in 563 B.C. In c 700 B.C. Śiśunāga founded a dynasty at Pāṭaliputra. In c 800 B.C. Adhisīma Kṛṣṇa is found ruling at Ayodhyā. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* cannot be later than c. 800 B.C., and Janmejaya Pārikṣita c 900 B.C. The gap between the close of the Ṛgvedic period and Janmejaya Pārikṣita measured by the change in literary, religious and geographical conditions cannot be less than of 400 years.

Paraśurāma's death may be placed between 1400-1300 B.C. From Divodāsa to Paraśurāma, both lines inclusive, would take the birth of Divodāsa i.e. the beginning of the Vedic period to at least 1500 B.C.

The Indra cult then was the flourishing cult ; the Sarasvatī valley was then studded with Aryan settlements. The Indra cult was known to the mid-east Aryans between c 1800-1700 B.C. Its rise then must be placed

[36] One of the tribes was called Harri (*Ārya*).

[37] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 60.

in c 1900 B.C. The Aryans were then settled in the Saptasindhu with no memory of an ancient home.

The Varuṇa cult must have at least taken two to three hundred years to grow and displace the Atharvan cult. This is the period when the Atharvan tradition prevailed in the Saptasindhu, the Indus valley, the West Coast and Persia.

The period of Bhṛgu-āṅgiras, of Śaryāti and Cyavana, of Kavi Uśanas in India must be placed latest between 2500-2200 B.C.

The events and periods of Aryan history may now be arranged :

B.C.	
3500–3000	The Indus Valley culture in Sindha and the West Coast ; close contact between the Indus Valley and Sumer.
2700	The last Sumerian (Aryan) rulers in Mesopotamia, if Sargon is considered a Semite. If not, there was continuous Aryan rule from 3300 to 1200 B.C. in Sumer.
2500	The latest date of the rise of the Atharvan tradition.
2200	The latest date when the Varuṇa worship began among the Aryans in the Saptasindhu. Began the evolution of Ṛg-vedic tradition in place of the older Atharvan tradition.
2000	The latest date for the movements of the Varuṇa worshipping Aryans. The Varuṇa worshipping Paṇis from the Arabian Sea or the Persian Gulf traded with Egypt.
2000	The Aryans tamed the horse in North Persia.
1900	The latest period when Indra cult came to be accepted by the Aryans.
1800	The Aryan Mittanis founded a kingdom in Mesopotamia.
1800	The Aryan Khattis founded a kingdom in Asia Minor.
1800	The Aryan Hyksos invaded Egypt.
1800	The Aryan Kāśis found to the east of Babylon.
1746	The Aryan Kāśis invaded Sumer.
1600–1500	The wars between the Haihayas and the Kāśis in India. The earliest date by which the Indra cult could have come into being in the Saptasindhu.
1500–1400	Vedic period. From the birth of Divodāsa to the death of Jamadagni.
1400-1300	Paraśurāma's conquests.
1140	The end of the rule of Aryan Kashshis in Mesopotamia.
1400–1000	The gap to explain the change of conditions, social and cultural, after the Vedic period closed and before the Post-Vedic period began.
1000–800	Rise of Zoroaster among the Aryans in Iran.
900	Janmejaya Pārikṣita's empire in North India.
800	The rise of the Aryan Medes and Mannai in Iran and Assyria
800	Adhisīma Kṛṣṇa flourished when the *Purāṇas* were recited.

700 Śiśunāga's dynasty rose to power at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha.
563 Buddha's birth in Kapilavastu.
550 The Aryan Cyrus founded an empire in Iran.
483 Prince Vijaya set sail from Siṁhapur to colonise Jāvā.

VI

On the Persian Gulf was the settlement of the Sumerian Aryans from 3500 B.C. who had arrived from somewhere near. From before 3000 B.C. the Indus Valley, the older of the two, had close contact with Sumer. From about a little later the Phoenicians, "Teukhis" as called by the Egyptians, carried on a maritime trade from Persian Gulf to the African coast and the shores of the Atlantic. About 2500 B.C. the Atharvan tradition arose among the Aryans in India and Persia. In 1900 B.C. the Indra Cult arose. From 1750 to 1200 B.C. the Kashshi Aryans ruled over Sumer. They were also found in conflict with the Haihayas in India before 1500 B.C. The Aryan Hyksos between 1788-1580 B.C. ruled over Egypt and got absorbed there. In 1700 B.C. the Indra and Sūrya worshipping Khatti Aryans were established in power in Asia Minor. Long prior to the advent of the Iranian Prophet Zoroaster between 1000 and 800 B.C., the Indo-Iranian Aryans, the same in race and religion with the Aryans, lived in South Persia. And yet, according to the historians, there was a blind wall between India and Persia, between the Persian Gulf and the Kathiawar Coast, though evidence incontestably points to a brisk trade between the two from about the fourth millennium prior to the Christian Era.

None of the Aryans, if the theory of Aryan immigration into India is true, till 1200 or even 700 B.C. ever crossed the Hindu Kush or took the desert way which the retreating army of Alexander took across the Gedrosian desert coast i.e. the modern Baluchistan; nor did they set sail eastward. But they arrived in India in 1200 to 700 B.C., developed a culture, language and social organisation peculiar to themselves, evolved the Indra cult in the Saptasindhu and founded their peculiar rituals; forgot their migrations and their ancient home; spent the hundred odd years necessary for the incidents connected with the Battle of Ten Kings; underwent the vast social and religious changes between the Ṛgvedic and the Brāhmaṇa period; spread over the whole of Northern India; evolved rituals, thought and tradition, and ultimately emerged in 800 B.C.—as the *Brāhmaṇa* literature can on no account be placed later than 800 B.C.—as a vast and organised people with a fully developed imperial institution and an elaborate ritual under Janmejaya Pārikṣita who ruled from Kabul to the Ganges.

Putting it the other way round, if the Sumerians came by sea, why not from the Indian West Coast? If the Atharvan priests were Indians, why should they not have led part of their flock to Persia? If Kashshis came from the east of Mesopotamia, why were they not an offshoot of the Kāśis who had fought the Haihayas and spread themselves on the banks of the

Ganges? If the Phoenicians had their maritime stations on the Persian Gulf and Egypt, why should they not be the same as the Paṇis of the *Ṛgveda*?

The only theory which will fit into these facts is obvious. The original race which threw up the Sumerians and the people of the Indus Civilisation, came from the Indo-Persian tract which must include the Indian West Coast and the Indus Valley. The Hyksos, the Hittites and the Kassites were parts of one people who live from Kabul to the banks of the Sarasvatī in Kuśa-vrata and the Indus Valley and parts of Persia from long before the period when their mariners traded with other shores of the modern Arabian Sea. This race came in contact with the Semites in Mesopotamia.

In Persia and India the same people evolved the Atharvan tradition which was later replaced by the worship of Varuṇa. A section of it in South Persia, branched off as the Indo-Iranians with their fire-priests, Athravans. In the Indus Valley and the West Coast, the Atharvan tradition flourished, overlaid by the growing importance of Varuṇa worship. The section of these people living in the Saptasindhu, sheltered by the Hindu Kush, later evolved the Indra cult and purer Vedic culture, which also came to dominate the Atharvan tradition. The earliest Aryan settlement—as far as history can trace—therefore cannot be remembered outside the tract made up of the lines drawn from Sumer to Kabul, from there to Haridvāra and from there to Śūrpāraka. This little world so long as it was one, revolved round the axis of the Indus Valley.

APPENDIX A

THE nature and affinities of the proto-historic inhabitants of the Indus Valley (the proto-Indic people) in the light of recent archæological excavations in India and elsewhere have been subjected to an exhaustive and critical analysis.[1] The deities and other objects of worship, amulets, funeral customs and structure of society as evidenced by the Indus Valley finds have been compared with the Atharvan traditions, and the conclusion arrived at is that the proto-Indic civilization is predominantly the Vedic culture as revealed in the *Atharvaveda*.[2] Mesopotamian deities were always represented in human form, whereas the Indus Valley has hardly more than a dozen representations as human or semi-human. In contrast to Sumer where the crowned horn first appears in Jemdet Nasr period, the Indus Valley records it among the earliest finds.

Witchcraft and sorcery being the special features of the *Atharvaveda*, one naturally seeks to trace the influence of the *Atharvaveda* in the domain of magic among the Indus Valley finds. It appears that many of the terra cotta figurines and amulets were employed in black magic and sorcery. The figurines have been identified with the Kṛtyās of the *Atharvaveda*, dolls used in a number of magical ceremonies. They were made in human forms for killing enemies, etc., and from their description, it seems that the process of their manufacture, putting together, ornamentation and smearing was similar to that told in the *Atharvaveda*.[3] Figurines with prominent bellies may be suffering from swollen stomachs. The *Atharvaveda* invokes Maruts for the cure of swollen bellies.[4] Figurines of pregnant females may have been employed in charms against embryo-spoiling demons described in the *Atharvaveda*. Male naked figures with tonsured heads and trimmed beards have been taken to represent priests. The *Atharvaveda* prescribes nudity in witchcraft, and also refers to tonsure.[5]

Male and female figures with sprigs of flowers or leaves on their heads recall to our minds the Atharvan amulets of *Sinīsapa*, *Śaṅkhapuṣpikā*, *Sauvarca*, etc. to secure the love of a man or a woman.[6] Beads, of which a large number in innumerable varieties has been found, were not merely for ornament but were used as amulets as well. The *Atharvaveda* mentions various kinds of *maṇis*. Gold beads were worn as amulets to secure long life. That bangles or bracelets were considered as pregnancy charms as in the *Atharvaveda* would appear from figurines ornamented with bracelets.[7] A single bladed axe seems to have been a cult object as the *Atharvaveda* recommends a heated axe as a remedy against jealousy.[8]

1 Shrikantha SASTRI, *Proto-Indic Religion*, Mysore, 1942.
2 *Ibid*, 87.
3 *AV*, III. 6.7 ; IV. 37 ; V. 31 ; X. 1 ; also VI, 31.3.
4 *AV*, VI. 22.
5 *AV*, VIII. 2.17 ; VI. 58.
6 *AV*, VI. 129 ; VII. 39.
7 *AV*, VI. 81 ; X. 1.
8 *AV*, VII. 45.

Coming to the various divinities in the Indus Valley, we find that Rudra as known from the *Atharvaveda* is represented on various seals in different forms. There is a deity, having a three-leaf ornament on head, under a bough with leaves (Seal 222, *Fur. Exc.*) ; this appears to be a type of Rudra who is said to have shaken down pestilence as from a bough on high.[9] The three-faced god, seated on a couch, with *Ūrdhvamedhra* (erect penis) and surrounded by animals (Pl. XII, 17, MIC) may be three-faced *Maheśamūrti*, or he may be the Vrātya as described in the *Atharvaveda*.[10] Some of the characteristics of Vrātya are found in the three-headed deity : e.g. he is seated on *āsandī* (raised platform) with four feet, having an *āstaraṇa* (coverlet) over it, wears a turban and horns, and *Kalmalī* (pendant) and *pravartas* (round ornaments). Animals around the deity are wild.

In the Indus Valley, the sun-god was not represented in a human form, but the Svastika, a circle with radiating signs (Seal 641, *Fur. Exc.*), the eye, the falcon and the bull were possibly his symbols. The Svastika represents movements of the sun, and is a symbol of eternity according to Indian tradition. Falcon is the sun bird (*suparṇo garutmān*), and the eye is connected with the sun, to whom the sense of sight goes back at death.[11] The Bull-man (Seals 356, 357, MIC) who was previously taken to be Enkidu, appears to be the Sun, as the *Atharvaveda* addresses the Sun as "Bull."[12] There are seven votaries round a deity (Seal 430, Fur. Exc.) who may be Saptarṣis, and the ceremonial seems to have been for bringing about rain indicated in the *Atharvaveda*.[13] The sealing depicting a female from whose navel a creeper is growing (Pl. XII. 12, MIC) represents a fertility goddess, perhaps *Śakadhūmajā, Śākambhara* or *Śākadhūma* as known in the *Atharvaveda*.[14]

Head-dress of figurines include turbans, horned objects, fan-shaped head-dress, conical caps and pig-tails. These head-dresses compare favourably with the different head-dress types mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, which refers to *Kirīṭin, Kurīra, Kumba, Opaśa*, etc.[15] It may be noted that GELDNER took the last three words to mean "horn."

Some seals depict a tiger as trampling on a man, or wrestling or being fed. The *Atharvaveda* clearly shows fear of wild animals and invokes the earth goddess to drive away wild beasts ... tigers ... etc.[16] The seal most probably may be an amulet based on the Atharvan tradition, which calls Atharvan a tiger-slayer (*vyāghra-jambhana*). The woman with a tiger's body, human fore-legs, spiral horns and long pig-tail (Seal 437, *Fur. Exc.*) may be a counterpart of Durgā.[17]

Various animals portrayed on the seals represent creatures sacrificed to different gods to attain particular ends. A boar, e.g., was sacrificed to Indra, a deer to Yama, a tiger to Vṛṣa, and so on.[18] Composite animals on the seals may illustrate

[9] *AV*, XII ; cf. Shrikantha ŚASTRI, op. cit., 6.
[10] *AV*, XV. 5, 8, 9.
[11] *AV*, XVIII. 2.7.
[12] *AV*, XIII. 2.43, 44 ; IX. 4.17.
[13] *AV*, I. 31 ; IV. 15.
[14] *AV*, VIII. 6.15.
[15] *AV*, VIII. 6.7 ; VI. 138.
[16] *AV*, XII. 1.49.
[17] MACKAY, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, 339.
[18] *Taitt. Saṁ*, V. 5-11.

some of the mythical descriptions in Vedic literature (Seals 411, 450, 521, 636 *Fur. Exc.*). Comparisons may be invited with *Araṇyaśva*, *Śalavṛka* and *Bhayeḍaka*.[19]

The trough in front of bulls and goats which was hitherto taken as an incense-burner or a crib, is considered to be some sort of filter for a ritual drink like Soma. Two such vessels were thus affixed and the drink was filtered through them.[20]

On some Indus seals are found hooded serpents and intertwined snakes which may be compared to the dragons (viz. Vṛtra, Ahi, Nāga) associated with Indra and Rudra. A Mohenjo-Daro pottery figure (Pl. LXXVI, 5, *Fur. Exc.*) represents a horned female with four doves on the head, and Harappa records a flying dove which may be amuletic. The Dove-goddess stands comparison with Crete and Mesopotamia.[21] Tiamat is represented by a pigeon. The *Ṛgveda* considers dove as a bird of ill-omen, messenger of perdition, and the *Atharvaveda* contains spells against birds of ill-omen.[22]

In connection with trees, it may be noted that Pīpal, nīm, acacia, palm, date and tulasī can be identified on the seals of the Indus Valley. Pīpal (Aśvattha) and acacia[23] (Devadāru) appear to have been worshipped in the Indus Valley. The *Atharvaveda* regards both as holy: Aśvattha was the abode of celestial beings,[24] and Devadāru conferred long life.[25]

The astrologico-magical significance of some of the seals has been dealt with exhaustively and in all detail; the conclusion is stated to be that the Indus people knew the signs of the Zodiac, the Nakṣatras and the Saptarṣis, and that the knowledge about all these goes back to the time of the *Atharvaveda*.[26]

As regards funerary customs, the Indus Valley finds indicate that in addition to cremation, bodies were first exposed, partly burnt and then buried; there were also complete and fractional burials, as also post-cremation urn-burials. In this connection, it is seen that the Aryans observed not merely cremation, but various other modes of the disposal of the dead, which tally with those in the Indus Valley.[27] Some paintings on the funerary pots can be explained in the light of Vedic funeral customs.[28] The conception of after-life as inferred from these paintings is similar to that of the *Atharvaveda*.

The Indus Valley finds indicate that the society in those days comprised four divisions: (i) priestly class, as seen from the priest in meditation, the man with parted hair wearing a shawl with trefoil patterns; (*ii*) guardians or watchmen, in towers and fort walls; (*iii*) traders and artizans, i.e. bead-makers, metal workers, sculptors, weavers, etc.; and (*iv*) manual labourers, potters, fishermen, sailors,

[19] *Taitt, Ār.*, IV. 28 ff; II. 4.9; IV. 30; *Taitt, Saṁ*, VI. 2.5-7.
[20] Shrikantha ŚASTRI, *op. cit.*, 23 f. [21] Cf. MACKAY, *op. cit.*, 295 f.
[22] *RV*, X. 165; *AV*, VI. 27, 28, 29.
[23] Cf. Seals 509, 522, *Further Excavations*.
[24] *AV*, IV. 37.4. [25] *AV*, VIII. 2.
[26] Shrikantha ŚASTRI, *op. cit.*, 49-65.
[27] Cf. VATS, *Excavations at Harappa*, 207 ff.
[28] *AV*, XII. 3: XVIII. 2.34, 35; XVIII. 3.70; *Sat. Brā.* XIII. 8.2.1; *Taitt. Saṁ.* III. 3. 8; cf. also *AV*, XVIII. 2 ff.

leather-workers, etc. The Vedic society can be shown to have been composed of similar four classes. The first two classes in the Indus Valley correspond to the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya. As regards trade and industry and sea-travels and navigation, there is ample evidence in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* to show that the Aryans had complete knowledge of sea and ocean-travels, and that they engaged in trade.[29] The Aryans were as great traders as they were warriors.

Thus there are clear affinities between the Atharvan traditions and the Indus Valley culture.

The conclusions may now be drawn.

The innovations and discoveries attributed to the proto-Sumerians were the results of a culture the home of which was the Punjab, the Indus Valley and the West Coast. The culture, on the Indian soil became the basis of a later culture which is preserved in the Atharvan tradition and in the Puranic tradition relating to Paśupati and Devī. The Atharvan tradition in the hands of another generation, centuries later, flowered into the religion of the Vedic Aryans as seen in the *Ṛgveda*. At the same time in the hands of the Atharvan priests and their followers the Atharvan tradition retained its older content and ritual, particularly on the West Coast region of which modern Gujarat formed a part.

[29] Cf. Shrikantha Śastri *op. cit.*, 83-86 and the references there.

APPENDIX B

ATTEMPTS have been made by scholars like Col. WADDELL to treat the genealogies given in the *Purāṇas* as key-lists to reconstruct the history of the Sumerian dynasties (c 2000 B.C.) mentioned in the *Kish Chronicle*. These attempts have led to remarkable results. These are no doubt based on purposive imagination directed to identify the Nordic races as the true Aryans, the Sumerians as Nordic, and the British as their present-day successors. But this identification, however unsound, discloses a sufficient basis for accepting that there was a close contact between Sumer and ancient India.

The attempts proceed on ingenious lines. It is assumed that the Puranic lists of early kings are preserved with remarkable precision and regularity; that the so called Solar and Lunar Main-lines were not as hitherto believed different lines of different kings but were the self-same lines of the self-same kings only under their Solar and Lunar names and titles; that earlier kings beginning with Ikṣvāku were names not necessarily connected with India; and that, therefore, they were the names of Aryan kings which the later chroniclers tried to connect with the Aryan rulers who later flourished in India.

The writings of the Sumerians, as complicated as their language, provide a facility for choosing several phonetic values for one pictograph. Cuneiform is a script of a mixed kind, partly syllabic and partly ideographic, that is, it sometimes uses signs which stand for single syllables and sometimes signs standing for whole words. Moreover the 330 or odd signs which were in common use are almost all polyphonic; in other words, they have more than one meaning. For example, a certain sign has the syllabic values KA, DUG and GU, and this same sign is also used as an ideograph for the word INIM ('command'). Another sign has the syllabic values MASH, BAR; but written twice over and preceded by the sign which is always placed in front of the names of gods, it stands for the god NERGAL.[1] The correct reading of a sign or a group of signs therefore can only be decided by its context, and misreadings are bound to occur especially in the case of proper names.[2]

Taking advantage of this complexity the names of early Aryan kings of the Puranic lists are altered to their Prakrit forms (e.g. *Sakkha* for *Śakra*), and the Sumerian sign is given the phonetic value corresponding to such form.

In this connection it must be remembered that the genius of the Sanskrit language always favours the transformation of unusual sounds into such Sanskritic sounds as that the substantive may be shown to have evolved out of a known verb-root. *Sagga* or *Sukkha* would certainly be transformed into Prakrit *Sakka* and Sanskrit *Śakra*.

By once reading the Sumerian inscriptions in this manner a result is achieved showing that the Puranic list of kings is a list of historical kings of the early

[1] CARLETON, *Buried Empires*, 29. [2] *Ibid*, 29.

Aryans of the pre-Indian period and that it had been brought to India by immigrating Aryans from their pre-Indian homeland in Sumer.

This conclusion, however, is incompatible with the Vedic Aryans being migrating Sumerians, for the Ṛgvedic *mantras* would certainly contain a much more vivid recollection of these early Aryan kings if the *ṛṣis* were the descendants of the Sumerian priests. On the other hand, the absence of any data to show that the vedic *ṛṣis* knew of the long lists of Sumerian kings, and the fact that some of the names are later than the Vedic period prove that the Vedic Aryans either did not know of these kings or that the *mantras* were composed before the line of Sumerian kings begins about 3100 B.C. The latter explanation would push back the date of the Battle of Ten Kings to c 4000 B.C.

Even if part of this effort at identification is real, there is sufficient identity of names to establish that the names of many Sumerian and Aryan kings as preserved in the Puranic lists were common. Consequently it is possible that the Aryans of the Atharvan band in India, Asia and Mesopotamia had a common traditional heritage which came to be incorporated into Sumerian lists and the *Purāṇas*. Without going the extreme length of Col. WADDELL a few names connected with the Atharvan Aryans may be considered :

Issakku	Ikṣvāku
Shar-itiash	Śar-yāti
Shur-rudd	Śūr-rāṣṭra
Shur-Sin	Śūra-Sen
Shu-rappaka	Śūr-pāraka
Ka-asshu	Kavā-Uṣā
Uruash-Buru	Vṛṣa-parvā
Ashur[3] or Ahhir (Asser)	Asura[4], Ahura[5]
Kan-Gan-Gun-Kyan	Cyavana
Ar-gun	Arjuna
Shar-ar-gun	Sahasrārjuna
Uru-ash	Ūru
Uru-gin	Ṛcika
Shar-gun, Shar-gar	Sagara
Ururur	Aurva
Purash[6]-Sin	Paraśu Rāma
Naremma[7]	Narmadā
Man[8]	Manu (Vaivasvata)
Gudea, Guda	Gādhi—Gādhin

[3] Used for the Sun god.
[4] Exalted (Vedic).
[5] Ahura in Ahur Mazd (Avestan).
[6] To cut or break, as by an axe or a hatchet. Cf. WADELL, *Makers of Civilisation*, 396.
[7] Lord of deep waters.
[8] In Sumerian the word Man connotes the Sun. cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, 80.

The word *kuśa* is preserved only in Kuśavrata, Kuśasthalī—a name of Dvārikā—and Kuśika, the grandfather of Viśvāmitra. Kusha, Kishu, Kushu is also the grandfather of Gudea, equated with Gādhi. The Phoenicians also were associated with the land of Kush.

The dynasty of Paraśurāma in the comparative table of Col. WADDELL deserves notice. Ṛcika is Kavi, and son of Ūru. Uru is distinctly Sumerian. The explanation given by the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as to how Aurva came to be so called, because of having been concealed in the thigh (*ūru*) of his mother, indicates the unusualness of the name.[9] Uru is very common in Sumerian, meaning 'high' or 'devotee of.' Ṛcika was a priest-king unlike Vasiṣṭha, more like the Patesi than a Vedic *ṛṣi*. He had acquired the kingdom of Śālva, and then he seems to have proceeded north to marry the daughter of Gādhi by a present of a thousand horses.

Gādhi is unknown to the Vedic *mantras*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* calls Viśvāmitra, a Gādhin. Gādhi therefore is nothing but a title which the Kuśikas bore. Viśvāmitra, with his Bharatas behind him, appears again like a Patesi Issakku (cf. Ikṣvāku). This may perhaps be at the root of the prejudice with which later tradition regarded Viśvāmitra. Gut or Guti, the same as Gādhi, was the family name of the kings in Sumer[10]. Gudea about 2370 B.C. was a great king of the same Guti family[11]. Gādhin may have therefore to do something with that branch.

To this may be added the strange name of Paraśurāma. The myth that he carried an axe, and hence received the name is evidently a later explanation. It might be that the word Parashu was the Sumerian Paruash or had something to do with Parahasi the original of 'Persians'.

The biography of Sagara of the Ikṣvāku line and of Shar-gar or Shar-gun (Sargon I) of Sumer, who also was an 'Issakku' deserves comparison.

Sagara's biography.	*Sargon's Autobiography.*
	Shar-gun Shar-gar.
1. Mother, a princess.	1. My mother, a princess.
2. Father, Bāhu, died vanquished.	2. My father, I knew not.
3. The enemies of Bāhu ruled in Ayodhyā (Pkt. Ajudhdhā)	3. My father's brother rules in Azutu or Agude.
4. Mother bore him in concealment.	4. My mother in concealment bore me.
	5. I was set afloat in a basket of rushes.
6. Saved by Agni, the son of Ūru, the man of Fire.	6. River brought me to An-akki, the man of Fire, Uru-ash.
7. Agni instructed him.	7. An-akki instructed me.
8. Sagar conquered all people from the Aegean Sea to the Bengal.	8. I reigned for 54 years.

[9] *Mbh.* I. 178-180; *Matsya*, 175. 23-62; *Padma*, V. 38. 74-112; *Hari*, 46.

[10] WADDELL, *op. cit.*, 385.

[11] Ibid, 377.

Babylonian tablets thus described Sargon's coming to the throne.

The lord Ururа, the sanctuary shepherd, sat the King, the lord, the religious lord Gani as the man-gardener.

This unseated Sag-gin upon the wood throne he placed on his head.

The Lord Ururа (him) in the sovereignty of his great palace and of his father (who was) overthrown by weapons, he arranged.

In the priestship he seated him.

The identity of these names is obvious and at any rate shows the identity of the language which once prevailed between the Atharvan Aryans and the Sumerians.

SECTION III

POST-VEDIC ARYANS : THE YADAVAS

CHAPTER I

THE YĀDAVAS UPTO ŚRĪ KṚṢṆA

A NUMBER of important events characterized the end of the Vedic period, which has been described hitherto. Notable among these are : a definite break in the literary and religious tradition of the *Ṛgveda*, the redaction of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* and rise of ritualism ; shifting of the centre of learning from the banks of Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī to the banks of Yamunā ; domination of Īśāna, the Mahādeva, over the pantheon ; break in the lines of old and famous kings and the fusion of the Tṛtsus and the Sṛñjayas with the Bharatas to form the Kuru-pañcālas ; and replacement of the tribal government by kingdoms ruled by powerful kings from well settled capitals.[1]

Among the Aryan tribes dealt with hitherto, the Bhṛgus and the Śāryātas indeed were the earliest onès connected with Gujarāta.[2] Ānarta, the son of Śaryāti, gave his name (Ānarta-deśa) to Gujarat, and his son Revata founded Kuśasthalī, the capital, on the ruins of which was erected later Dvārakā, the capital of the Yādavas. Though not bearing so ancient a contact with Gujarāta, the Yādavas can claim to have associations with Gujarāta at least since the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, if not earlier ; and if the location of Māhiṣmatī near Broach in Gujarat[3] be correct, the date can be pushed back still further to the period of Kārtavīrya Arjuna, a well-known *samrāṭ* of the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas. Balarāma, the Yādava, elder brother of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, was married to the daughter of Kakudmin Raivata of the Ānarta family, which lost its kingdom of Kuśasthalī to the Yādavas.[4]

I

The Yādavas have a long history of their own, which goes back to the period of the *Ṛgveda*. The word "Yadu" occurs several times in the *Ṛgveda* as the name of a king and his tribe.[5] He is closely associated with Turvaśa, and once with Druhyu, Anu and Pūru.[6] The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* indicate this association by making Turvasu the real brother of Yadu, and Anu, Druhyu and Pūru, his step brothers.[7] According to the *Ṛgveda*, Yadu took part in the *Dāśarājña* against Sudās, and escaped with his life along with Turvaśa, while Anu and Druhyu kings perished in the battle.[8] The *Ṛgveda* implies the close connection of the Yadus and Turvaśas with

1 MUNSHI, *EAG*, 71-74.
2 MUNSHI, *EAG*, 27-28.
3 *EAG*, 34-37.
4 *BG*, I, Part 1, 8 ; PARGITER, *AIHT*, 98.
5 Cf. *V. I.*, II, 185, and the references there.
6 *RV*. I. 108.8 ; VIII. 10.5.
7 Cf. *Mbh.*, I. 70.31-32 ; 90.9 ; *Matsya* 24.53-54 ; *Vāyu* 93.16-17 ; *Hari*, I. 30.4.5.
8 *RV*, I.174.9 ; IV. 30.17 ; V. 31.8 ; VI. 20.12.

North-Western India.[9] The Vedic Pañcajanas, according to one view, represent the five tribes Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus and Pūrus.[10] In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, however, these names appear as those of the sons of king Yayāti of the Lunar dynasty, the originators of the families bearing these names. There is, however, nothing in the *Ṛgveda* or Vedic literature to warrant this relationship, though Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa, is well known to the Vedic texts.[11] The division of the Royal families into Solar and Lunar dynasties which the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* started, is also unknown in the Vedic literature. The *Purāṇas* divide the family of Yadu or the Yādavas into many septs, such as the Vītihotras, Haihayas, Sātvatas, etc. and the Sātvatas have further been subdivided into several branches, viz., Devāvṛdhas, Andhakas, Bhojas and Vṛṣṇis.[12] The Sātvatas are mentioned in Vedic texts,[13] and their location appears to be somewhere near Mathurā, where the *Purāṇas* also locate them. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* describes a branch of the Sātvatas as having migrated to the South beyond the Kuru-Pāñcāla area and as being ruled by Bhoja kings.[14] It also refers to Babhru Daivāvṛdha as a contemporary of Bhīma, king of Vidarbha.[15] The Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and the latter are described as a republican corporation (*saṅgha*) by Kauṭilya.[16]

II

In turning to the dynastic lists in the epics and the *Purāṇas* for particulars and information about the ruling races in India, we shall mainly refer to the Yādavas and shall briefly allude to other contemporary dynasties. Among the Yādavas we shall principally deal with the main Yādava family and refer only briefly to its various branches and septs. Appendix I gives the genealogies resulting from a collation of the Puranic texts. It will be found that our genealogies differ in some particulars from the list prepared by PARGITER.[17] An attempt has been made to render the genealogical table as useful as possible by the inclusion of references to other principal dynasties besides the Yādavas and to the collaterals as well. The Appendix would serve as the summary of the results stated in this chapter regarding the pre-Bhārata-War Yādavas.

The *Purāṇas* begin their genealogies with Manu, the saviour of humanity at the Flood, which has now been proved to have actually taken place

[9] Cf. *RV*, I. 108.8; VIII. 6.46.

[10] Cf. *V. I.*, I, 315.

[11] *RV*, I. 31.17; X. 63.1.

[12] *Matsya* 43-44, *Vāyu*, 94-96, and also the account given later on.

[13] *Śat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.21; *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 14.3.

[14] *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 14.3. The Bhojas, as is shown later, were a branch of the Yādavas.

[15] *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 3.4; cf. *Vāyu*, 96.13-15; *Matsya*, 44.56-58; *Hari*, 2010-13.

[16] *Pāṇ.* IV. 1.114; VI. 2.34. cf. also *Artha* 1.6, p. 12; *Mbh.* XII. 8.29.

[17] Cf. his list, *AIHT*, 144-149.

by archæological excavations.[18] In contrast to the dynastic lists in Sumer and Egypt which record pre-Flood kings, the Indian dynastic lists comprising the Solar and Lunar dynasties begin after the Flood. The Vedic literature represents Manu as the son of Vivasvant, the first man, father of the race and its guide in all matters.[19] MACDONELL and KEITH deny all historical reality to Manu.[20] Manu is said to be the father of nine sons (viz. Ikṣvāku, Nabhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Śaryāti, Nariṣyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhānediṣṭha, Karūṣa and Pṛṣadhra) besides the eldest, who is represented to have had a dual personality as Ila and Ilā, and from whom the Lunar dynasty or the Ailas were derived.[21] Of the nine, only four are important as being the originators of important lines. From Ikṣvāku who reigned at Ayodhyā descended the Solar and the Videha dynasties, from his two sons Vikukṣi and Nimi. In the Solar line, which is given by many *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyāṇa*,[22] flourished such illustrious monarchs as Kakutstha, Yuvanāśva, Māndhātṛ, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Triśaṅku, Hariścandra, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa, Raghu, Daśaratha and Rāma. The Videha line[23] included Mithi, Janaka and Sīradhvaja, from the first of whom the capital Mithilā received its name. Some later authorities assign to Ikṣvāku a third son called Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka, after whom, it is said, was named the great Daṇḍaka forest.[24] The Nabhāgas, descended from Nabhāga, reigned on the river Jumna, and included Rathītara from whom came the Rathītaras who were "Kṣatriyan Brāhmaṇas."[25] From Dhṛṣṭa came the Dhārṣṭaka Kṣatri-

[18] Cf. the articles and excavations carried on by the late Shri V. R. KARANDIKAR in the Narmadā Valley. Also, *NR*, 11, 473-484. For the Biblical flood, see, H. PEAKE, *The Flood*, London, 1930; *Antiquity*, V, 213-220; *JCOI*, 1942, 58-70.

[19] Cf. *RV*, I. 80.16; II. 33.13; VIII. 63.1; X. 100. 5; etc. This Vaivasvata Manu, however, according to the Puranic theories of the *Caturyugas*, *Kalpas*, *Manvantaras* and similar creations of later fancies was the seventh Manu. The period is designated as the Kṛta and Tretā Yugas, and six Manus are said to have flourished during this pre-Vaivasvata Manu epoch. It is very difficult to deduce historical inferences from the data, though the subject is worth an intensively critical and comparative study particularly with reference to the Sumerian and Egyptian records.

[20] *V. I., II*, 129.

[21] No writer on Puranic genealogies can afford to ignore PARGITER, and I have liberally drawn on his *AIHT*. Instead of merely copying the Puranic references from Mr. PARGITER'S book, I have given references only to the older *Purāṇas* which I have verified. It may be pointed out that the text in Dr. KIRFEL'S *PPL* is valuable for a comparative study of the genealogies as it gives a continuous text, referring at the same time to all *Purāṇas*. KIRFEL, *PPL*, 229 ff; 340 ff; *Mat*, 11.40-41; *Mbh*. I. 90. 8; *Hv*. I. 10.1-2; MOOKERJI, *HC*, 148 ff.

[22] *Matsya*, 12.25-57; *Vāyu*, 88.8-213; *Hari*, 1. 11-15; *Mbh*., III. *Rām*. I. 70-21-44; II. 110.6-35. Also, PARGITER, *AIHT*, 90-95; KIRFEL, *PPL*, 320 ff, 332 ff; MANKAD, *BV*, III, 160-170.

[23] *Vāyu*, 89.1-23; PARGITER, *AIHT*. 95-96.

[24] *Padma*, V. 34.14-16; *Rām*, VII. 81.18-19.

[25] *Matsya*. 12.20-21; *Vāyu*, 88.5-7; *Hari*, I. 10.29; KIRFEL, *PPL*, 307 ff; PARGITER, *AIHT*. 98. *Vāyu*, 88.7 b: रथीतराणां प्रवराः क्षात्रोपेता द्विजातयः ।

શુજરાતી સાહિત્ય પરિષદ ગ્રંથાલય
અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૯

yas,[26] who probably ruled over Vāhīka in the Punjab. Śaryāti was the founder of the Śāryātas, who ruled in Ānarta. The Śāryātas[27] were one of the earliest Aryan tribes to come in contact with Gujarat, which received its ancient name from Ānarta,[28] the son of Śaryāti. The capital was at Kuśasthalī (ancient name of Dvārakā). The Śāryātas were destroyed by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas.[29] Later on, the remnants of the Śāryātas merged in the Haihayas. There is much confusion about the genealogy of Nariṣyanta,[30] some accounts stating that the descendants of Nariṣyanta were the Śakas. The *Bhāgavata* list of his descendants, according to PARGITER, concerns Nariṣyanta of the Vaiśāla dynasty.[31] Nothing is known about the descendants of Prāṁśu, who is called Kuśanābha in the *Matsya* and *Padma*.[32] Nābhānediṣṭa established the Vaiśāla dynasty, which ruled at Vaiśālī, identified with Basar.[33] Vatsaprī, son of Bhālandana from this dynasty is the reputed author of *Ṛgveda*, IX. 68, and probably of X. 45 and 46.[34] From Karūṣa came the Karūṣas, the determined fighters, who occupied the Karūṣa country,—the region round the modern Rewa and eastwards to the river Sone.[35] Pṛṣadhra was excluded from any share of the earth because he killed his guru's cow.[36]

III

Reference has already been made to the eldest son of Manu named Ila, the originator of the Lunar dynasty, who is said to have been transformed into a woman named Ilā owing to the curse of Umā. As Ilā, she married Budha, the son of Soma, and from him had a son named Purūravas, who is known through his metronymic Purūravas Alia. Then through Śiva's favour Ilā became a Kimpuruṣa named Sudyumna, a male one month, and a female

[26] *Vāyu*, 88.4-5 ; *Hari*. I. 10-30 ; *Siv*. VII. 60. 20 : वार्ष्णेयो बर्हीक क्षेत्रमावसन् । *Vāyu*, 88.4 b : वृष्टस्य धार्ष्टकं सर्वं रणदृष्टं बभूव ह । cf. PARGITER, *Mārk. P*, 311.

[27] *Matsya*, 12.21-24 ; *Vāyu*, 86.23-29 ; *Hari*. I. 10.30-37 ; 11.1-7, KIFFEL, *PPL*, 305ff ; PARGITER, *AIHT*, 97 f.

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[32] *Matsya*, 11.41 ; *Padma*, I. 8.76-77 ; V. 8.76.

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another month.[37] Sudyumna had three sons, Utkala, Gaya and Vinatāśva,[38] who ruled respectively over the Utkala country, Gayā and the eastern regions including the northern Kurus.[39] From Purūravas Aila started the celebrated Lunar family or Aila Vaṁśa,[40] which includes the well-known Pauravas and Yādavas. Purūravas had his headquarters at Pratiṣṭhāna, on the northern banks of the Jumna. He had six sons from Urvaśī, of whom Āyu succeeded him at Pratiṣṭhāna,[41] and Amāvasu founded another dynasty at Kānyakubja. The Kānyakubjas[42] included Jahnu, Kuśika, Gādhi and Viśvāmitra, well known in Vedic literature. Āyu had five sons, viz., Nahuṣa, Kṣatravṛddha, Raji, Rambha and Anenas, of whom Nahuṣa succeeded him in the main line. Kṣatravṛddha established himself at Kāśī.[43] From Raji were descended the Rājeya Kṣatriyas, who perished in a contest with Indra.[44] Rambha had no sons.[45] Anenas gave rise to the Kṣatradharmans.[46] The name of Āyu's wife is variously given as Prabhā, Indumati or Virajā.[47] Nahuṣa was a famous king, and he performed a number of sacrifices. The *Mahābhārata* story of his securing the kingdom of Indra and of his fall therefrom runs counter to many well-established synchronisms.[48] The number of Nahuṣa's sons is variously given as five, six or even seven.[49] Yati, Yayāti, Saṁyāti and Āyati are the common names in all lists. The eldest son, Yati, is said to have embraced asceticism, so that Yayāti succeeded Nahuṣa. The *Ṛgveda* mentions Yayāti as an ancient sacrificer, and as son of Nahuṣa ; he is also known as a seer of some hymns.[50] But his connection with the Lunar dynasty or with Pūru as told in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* is not found in the *Ṛgveda*, and hence MACDONELL and KEITH condemn the epic tradition as "inaccurate".[51] The *Purāṇas* give a detailed account of Yayāti's marriage with Devayānī, the daughter of Śukra, and Śarmiṣṭhā the daughter of the Dānava king Vṛṣa-

[37] *Matsya*, 11.40-12.19. For the three different forms of the account of Ilā, *see* PARGITER, *AIHT*, 253-254.

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[39] Cf. *Matsya*, 12.18 ; *Padma*, V. 8.123.

[40] Cf. PARGITER, *AIHT*, Ch. IX ; KIRFEL, *PPL*, 360 ff, 536 ff.

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[44] *Matsya*, 24. 35-49 ; *Vāyu*, 92. 75-99 ; *Hari*, 28.1477-1511.

[45] *Hari*, 29.1513.

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[48] *Mbh.* III. 178-181 ; cf. PARGITER, *AIHT*, 306 also n. 3.

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[50] *RV.* I. 31.17 ; X. 63.1 ; also *RV.* IX. 101. 4-6 (616, SATAVALEKAR's Ed, 1940).

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[51] *V. I.*, II, 187. According to PARGITER (*AIHT*, 136 n 2) Nahuṣa in *RV.* I. 122 is different from Nahuṣa, the father of Yayāti.

parvan, in which some excuses have been invented to justify the *pratiloma* marriage with Devayānī. Yayāti had five sons : Yadu and Turvaśu from Devayānī, and Anu, Druhyu and Pūru from Śarmiṣṭhā,[52] all of whom founded five great dynasties. Yayāti was a great sacrificer, a *samrāṭ*, and he extended his kingdom far and wide. He divided his kingdom among his five sons,[53] placing the youngest son, Pūru, to continue the main line, ruling over Madhyadeśa, the southern half of the Ganges-Jumna Doab, with its capital at Pratiṣṭhāna. Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti, was given territories towards the south-west embracing the country watered by the rivers Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), Vetravatī (Betwa) and Śuktimatī (Ken). Turvaśu got the south east, i.e., territory around Rewa, Druhyu, the west, i.e., the country west of the Jumna and north of the Chambal, and Anu, the north, i.e. the northern portion of the Ganges-Jumna plain. The *Purāṇas*, however, also relate the story, which is probably a later addition, of the exclusion of his four elder sons by Yayāti on account of their refusal to accept his old age, which he got prematurely due to Śukra's curse.[54] Pūru, the youngest was, according to this story, given the whole kingdom as he accepted old age in order to enable his father to enjoy life. It may be recalled that the names of these five sons occur in the *Ṛgveda* as ancient tribes.

Before coming to Yadu, the progenitor of the Yādavas, let us take a brief note of the dynasties founded by the other sons of Yayāti. The line of Pūru, known as the Pauravas,[55] is well known to the epics, *Purāṇas* and Vedic literature. Duṣyanta, Bharata, Ajamīḍha and Kuru, known from the Vedic literature, figure among the Pauravas, and the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas round whom centres the great epic were scions of the Pauravas.

The Ānavas, descended from Anu,[56] were responsible for the establishment of the sub-septs of the Yaudheyas, Sauvīras, Kaikayas, Madrakas, Śibis, Ambaṣṭhas, etc. The descendants of Druhyu[57] spread out into the Mleccha countries to the north beyond India and founded kingdoms there. Turvaśu's line[58] was merged in the Pauravas when king Marutta of this dynasty had no son and adopted Duṣyanta, the Paurava.

52 Cf. note 6 above : *Matsya*, 24.53-54 ; *Vāyu*, 93.16-17 ; *Hari*, I. 30.4-5.

53 Different *Purāṇas* give different locations of the territories assigned to each son. The texts collated by PARGITER (*AIHT*, 259 n 7) read as follows : अभिषिच्यततः पूरुं स्वराज्ये सुतमात्मनः । दिशि दक्षिणपूर्वस्यां तुर्वसुं तु न्यवेशयत् ॥ दक्षिणापरतो राजा यदुं ज्यैष्ठं न्यवेशयत् । प्रतीच्यामुत्तरस्यां च द्रुह्युंचानुं च तावुभौ ॥

54 *Matsya*, 33.1-4 ; *Vāyu*, 93.28-30 ; *Mbh*, I. 78.30-41.

55 See note 40, for references.

56 *Matsya*, 48.10-11 ; *Vāyu*, 99.12-13 ; *Hari*, 31.1669-70. KIRFEL, *PPL*, 523 ; PARGITER, *AIHT*, 108-109.

57 *Matsya*, 48.69 ; *Vāyu*, 99.7-12 ; *Hari*, 32.1837-41. KIRFEL, *PPL*, 522 ; PARGITER, *AIHT*, 108.

58 *Matsya*, 48.1-5 ; *Vāyu*, 99.1-6 ; *Hari*, 32.1829-36. PARGITER, *AIHT*, 106, 108.

IV

Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti, founded the Yādava dynasty, and their genealogy is given by twelve *Purāṇas*.[59] Yadu had four or five sons, of whom various *Purāṇas* give different names.[60] Kroṣṭu and Sahasrajit among Yadu's sons are important, for with them the Yādavas were divided into two great branches. The descendants of Sahasrajit were named after his grandson Haihaya, and were known as Haihayas.[61] The Haihayas comprised five families, the Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras, and counted the great *samraṭ* and *Cakravartin* Sahasrārjuna among them.[62]

Kroṣṭu's descendants were particularly known as the Yādavas. Vṛjinvan is said to be the son of Korṣṭu, though PARGITER shows a break between Kroṣṭu and Vṛjinvan.[63] The name of Vṛjinvan's son is given as Śvāhi, and PARGITER's list shows a break here as also at a few places subsequently, which a comparison with our list, which strictly follows the *Purāṇas*, will make clear. All authorities excepting the *Padma*, *Liṅga* and *Kūrma*, represent Rasadu (with numerous variants) as the son of Svāhi; the three *Purāṇas* insert Svāti or Śānti.[64] Rasadu is said to have performed various sacrifices and given *dakṣiṇās*, as the result of which a son named Citraratha was born to him. The *Ṛgveda* mentions one Citraratha as the enemy of Turvaśas whom Indra killed on the banks of the Śarayū.[65] The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* mentions a king Citraratha for whom a Dvirātra was performed by the Kāpeyas.[66] These two, however, seem to be different from the Yādava Citraratha. The *Purāṇas* refer to various kings named Citraratha belonging to different dynasties.[67] Citraratha's son Śaśabindu was a powerful monarch, a famous *Cakravartin*, included among the sixteen kings in the *Droṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.[68] The Yādavas first developed a great kingdom under Śaśabindu, which included the territories of the Pauravas on the east and the Druhyus on the north. The fact of Śaśabindu's conquest of the Pauravas appears from the gap in the Paurava list upto Duṣyanta. Śaśabindu had many sons known as Śāśabindava princes;

[59] *Matsya*, 44.14 ff; *Vāyu*, 95.14 ff; *Hari*, 37-38. KIRFEL, *PPL*, 410 ff; PARGITER, *AIHT*, 102 ff.

[60] Five (*Mat.* 43.6-7; *Vāyu* 94.2; *Hari*, 33.1843); four (*Viṣ.* IV, 11.3; *Gar.* 139-19; *Bhg.* IX. 23.20-1).

[61] *Matsya*, 43.7-49; *Vāyu*, 94.3-54; *Hari*, 33.1844-98. PARGITER, *AIHT*, 102.

[62] Cf. *Matsya*, 43.48-49: तेषां पञ्च कुलाः ख्याता हैहयानां महात्मनाम्। वीतिहोत्राश्च शार्याता भोजाश्चावन्तयस्तथा॥ कुण्डिकेराश्च विक्रान्तास्तालजङ्घास्तथैव च।

[63] See Table on p. 144, *AIHT*.

[64] *Padma*, I. 13.2; V. 13.2 (Svāti); *Lg.* 68.22 (Svāti); *Kū.* 24.1 (Śānti).

[65] *RV.* IV, 30.18. [66] *Pañc. Brā.*, XX. 12.5.

[67] Cf. Son of Gaya (*Bhg.* V. 15.14) in Svāyambhuva Manu Vaṁśa; Son of Janaka in Nimi Vaṁśa; name of Romapāda (*Bhg.* IX. 23.7-20); Śaivya King (*Mbh.*, VI. 23.61); Son of Drupada (*Mbh.* VI. 122.43); Aṅga king (*Mbh.* XIII. 42.8) etc.

[68] *Mbh*, VII. 65.

probably his kingdom was divided into many small principalities. Śaśabindu's daughter Bindumatī married king Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā. Śaśabindu was succeeded by his son Pṛthuśravas, whom the *Padma* makes his grandson. Antara, known also as Uttara, Uttama or Akṣara, was the son of Pṛthuśravas, and Suyajña was Antara's son. Some authorities, however, call Suyajña the son of Pṛthuśravas.[69] Uśanas, the son of Suyajña, succeeded the latter. He performed a hundred Aśvamedhas. The next to follow were : Śineyu-Marutta-Kambalabarhis-Rukmakavaca-Parāvṛt. Parāvṛt had five sons, Rukmeṣu, Pṛthurukma, Jyāmagha, Parigha and Hari. The last two were placed on the Videha throne. Rukmeṣu became king with the help of Pṛthurukma, and they both drove out Jyāmagha, who stayed in a hermitage. Through the entreaties of the Brāhmaṇas Jyāmagha took to arms and conquered territories on the Narmadā and Ṛkṣavant mountains and Mṛttikāvatī, and resided in Śuktimatī. His queen Śaibyā (or Caitrā) pure of body and heart, was without any issue. Jyāmagha conquered a maiden named Bhojyā Upadānavī in war, but told Śaibyā that she would be their daughter-in-law. Later on a son named Vidarbha was born to Śaibyā from Jyāmagha, and he was married to Upadānavī, the maiden conquered by his father before his birth.[70] Jyāmagha or his son Vidarbha established a kingdom in Vidarbha, which branched off into three sub-lines, headed by each of the sons of Vidarbha. Keśinī and Sumati were the daughters of Vidarbha who were given in marriage to Sagara, the great *samrāṭ* and *Cakravartin* of Ayodhyā. The *Purāṇas* suggest that Vidarbha sought peace with Sagara who was running his invading forces southwards, by offering his daughter Keśinī in marriage.[71] The kingdoms of Videha, Vaiśālī, Ānava, Kāśī, Vidarbha and the Yādava branch of river Chambal, among a few others, survived the onslaught of Sagara. The Yādavas of Vidarbha extended their authority northward over the Haihaya country after Sagara's death. The eldest son of Vidarbha was Kratha or Bhīma who continued the main line. The second son Kaiśika became king of Cedī and founded the Cedī line.[72] The youngest Lomapāda reigned somewhere else. The *Kūrma* gives thirteen generations below Lomapāda,[73] but does not mention the territory over which he ruled. Kratha-Bhīma was followed in succession by Kunti-Dhṛṣṭa (Dhṛṣṭi or Vṛṣṇi) -Nirvṛti-Daśārha-Vyoman-Jīmūta - Vikṛti - Bhīmaratha - Rathavara - Navaratha - Daśaratha - Ekādaśaratha - Śakuni - Karambha - Devarāta - Devakṣatra - Devana - Madhu-Puruvaśa (Kuruvaśa) - Purudvant - Aṁśu (Jantu) and Satvat. Vidūratha,

[69] *Matsya*, 44.22 (Uttama) ; *Bḍ.* II. 70.23 (Akṣara) ; *Lg.* 68.26-27 (Anantaka) ; *Padma*, I. 13.7 (Uttama); *Hari*, 36.1973-74 (Uttara).

[70] *Matsya*, 44.32 ; *Vāyu*, 95.32 ; *Hari*, 37.1984.

[71] *Matsya*, 12.39, 42 ; *Vāyu*. 88.155 ; *Hari*, 15.797. Names of the Yādava princesses have been variously given in different authorities.

[72] *Matsya*, 44.38 ; *Vāyu*, 95.38 : कैशिकस्य चिदिः पुत्रस्तस्माचैद्या नृपाः स्मृताः ॥

[73] *Kūrma*, I. 24.6-10.

whom PARGITER inserts between Nirvṛti and Daśārha,[74] is said to be another name for Daśārha. From the Puranic accounts which state that Madhu extended his kingdom from Gujarat to the Jumna, it appears that he consolidated the small Yādava principalities. Madhu married a princess from Vidarbha and Purudvan was born of her. Aṁśu or Jantu married a princess from the Ikṣvākus and the well-known prince Satvat was born of the marriage. Though some accounts omit Sātvata, it seems certain that Satvat was succeeded by his son Sātvata, whose name is given as Bhīma. PARGITER and PRADHAN have arrived at the same conclusion after collation of different texts.[75] According to the *Harivaṁśa*, Bhīma Sātvata was ruling at the same time as Rāma Dāśarathi, and Andhaka, son of Bhīma, was a contemporary of Rāma's son Kuśa.[76] PRADHAN seeks another proof for the contemporaneity of Bhīma Sātvata and Rāma Dāśarathi in the fact that Babhru, son of Devāvṛdha (grandson of Bhīma Sātvata) was a contemporary of Somaka and Sahadeva Sārñjaya.[77] The *Harivaṁśa* further states that Rāma Dāśarathi's brother Śatrughna killed Lavaṇa, son of Madhu, cut down Madhuvana, and established Mathurā, the Śūrasena capital.[78] The *Rāmāyaṇa* says that Śatrughna installed his son Subāhu in Mathurā ;[79] from the *Harivaṁśa* account, it appears that this Subāhu was ousted by Bhīma Sātvata, and the latter and his descendants reigned in Mathurā. PARGITER points out in this connection that the story connecting Śatrughna with Mathurā and Śūrasena is true, but the representation of Madhu and Lavaṇa as Asuras is due to Brahmanical mythology ; they were really descendants of Yadu, and the genealogy of Madhu had been tampered with.[80] Sātvata married a Kosala princess, and the *Purāṇas* are not unanimous regarding the number and names of his sons. PARGITER has critically considered the texts of the *Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu, Brahma, Harivaṁśa, Matsya, Padma* and *Liṅga*, and according to him, the collated texts give the following reading :[81]

सात्वतात्सत्त्वसम्पन्नान्कौसल्या सुषुवे सुतान् ।
भजिनं भजमानं तु दिव्यं देवावृधं नृपम् ॥
अन्धकं च महाभोजं वृष्णिं च यदुनन्दनम् ।
तेषां हि सर्गाश्चत्वारः—

The large Yādava kingdom ruled over by Bhīma Sātvata was divided among his four sons. Bhajamāna's kingdom is not specified, and no further lineage

[74] See Table on 146 *AIHT* and CHITRAV, *PBCK*, 237.
[75] PARGITER, *AIHT*, 103 ; PRADHAN, *CAI*, 35-36.
[76] *Hari.* II. 37.
[77] *CAI*, 37-38 ; also, PARGITER, *AIHT*, 171.
[78] *Hari.* II, 38.39-40. The *Liṅga* (I. 68. 19) account connecting Śūrasena a son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya with the city seems to be incorrect.
[79] *Rām.* VII. 62.6.
[80] *AIHT*, 122, 170-71, 279.
[81] *AIHT*, 103 n 3.

beyond his sons is given.[82] It appears that his descendants attained no distinction. Devāvṛdha was connected with the river Parṇāśā (Banas in West Malwa), and his descendants are said to be the Bhojas of Mārttikāvata, apparently in Śālva country around Mt. Abu. The texts give no further genealogy beyond Devāvṛdha's son Babhru.[83] Andhaka, who reigned at Mathurā, had four sons (viz., Kukura, Bhajamāna, Śuci and Kambalabarhis), but only Kukura and Bhajamāna are important. Kukura and his descendants, the Kukuras, formed the main dynasty upto Kaṁsa which will be taken up subsequently. Bhajamāna's descendants were known as Andhakas[84] and they ruled somewhere near Mathurā. An important king in the line was Kṛtavarman, the son of Hṛdika, who fought on the side of Duryodhana and was one of the three on the Kauravas' side who survived the Bhārata war. Thereafter, he went to Dvārakā and later was killed by Sātyaki in the fateful fratricidal struggle that brought the downfall of the Yādavas. Vṛṣṇi, whose name some *Purāṇas* misread as Kroṣṭu and confuse with his ancestor, had at least four sons, two with the same name (Anamitra), and from them arose numerous families as will be seen later.[85] As Akrūra, a descendant of Vṛṣṇi, reigned at Dvārakā, PARGITER suggests that Vṛṣṇi probably reigned there.[86] Shri Durgashanker SHASTRI, however, controverts this on the ground that Akrūra may have accompanied Kṛṣṇa in his exodus to Dvārakā on account of the devastating wars of Jarāsandha of Magadha.[87] In this connection, it may be observed that the migration of the Yādavas from the holy land of Kurupañcālas had already begun since Vedic times on account of the constant raids of the Bharatas, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* actually refers to the defeat of the Sātvatas by Bharata.[88] So, the emigration of the Yādavas had commenced much earlier than the age of Kṛṣṇa, whose exodus may be taken to represent a wholesale migration.[89] It is not beyond the realm of probability that Vṛṣṇi, who is credited with having founded a dynasty, may have moved south-westward and may have established at Dvārakā in Gujarāta.[90] In the Vṛṣṇi branch figure such well-known persons as Prasena, Satrājit, Akrūra, Śūra, Vasudeva, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Yuyudhāna. Vṛṣṇi had two queens, Gāndhārī and Mādrī. Anamitra, the eldest son, was by Gāndhārī, and he was also known as Sumitra. Mādrī had three sons, Yudhājit, Devamīḍhuṣa and Anamitra. A comparison of the length of

82 *Matsya*, 44.49-50 ; *Vāyu*, 96.3-6 ; *Hari*, 38. 2001-3.

83 *Matsya*, 44.51-60 ; *Vāyu*, 96.6-17 ; *Hari*, 38.2004-14.

84 *Matsya*, 44.77-85 ; *Vāyu*, 96.135-42 ; *Hari*, 39.2032-9.

85 *Matsya*, 45.1-3 ; *Vāyu*, 96.17-20 ; *Hari*, 39.2040-2. For other branches of the Vṛṣṇis, see continuations of these passages. *Ag.* (275.38) calls his Dhṛṣṭa, *Br.* (16.9) Kroṣṭu, *Bd.* (II. 17. 18), Dhṛṣṭi, *Hari.* (39.2040) and *Pad.* (I. 30. 70) Kroṣṭu. and *Lg.* (69. 10) *Matsya*, (45.1) Vṛṣṇi.

86 *AIHT*, 280.

87 *AS*, 343.

88 *Śat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.21.

89 Cf. S. K. AIYANGAR, OC, II, 355 ; AI, 38-39.

90 Cf. RANGACHARYA, *PMI*, II, Part I, 253.

Vṛṣṇi's lineage with that of the Kukuras and Andhakas reveals that it omits several generations. From Anamitra or Sumitra the eldest son, was born Nighna, and his sons Prasena and Satrājit succeeded him.[91] Satrājit is a well-known figure in the Syamantaka legend connected with Kṛṣṇa, and was the father of Satyabhāmā, one of the eight principal queens of Kṛṣṇa. Yudhājit's descendants branched off into two families, viz., Śvaphalka and Citraka.[92] Devamīḍhuṣa who is represented as the son of Vṛṣṇi and grandfather of Vasudeva, must in reality be six generations below Vṛṣṇi.[93] Devamīḍhuṣa married an Ikṣvāku princess named Aśmakī, and a son named Śūra was born to him. From Śūra to a Bhoja princess named Mārīṣā were born ten sons and five daughters including Vasudeva, who was the eldest, and Pṛthā, Śṛtadevā and Śṛtaśravā. Pṛthā was adopted by the old king Kuntibhoja, from whom she came to be known as Kuntī. She married the Paurava prince Pāṇḍu and was the mother of the elder Pāṇḍavas. Śṛtadevā married a Kārūṣa king named Vṛddhaśarmā. Śṛtaśravā was given to the Cedī king Damaghoṣa, and Śiśupāla was born to them. Kṛṣṇa is called Śaurī on account of this Śūra. Vasudeva married the seven daughters (Devakī, etc.) of king Devaka of the Kukuras, and Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were the sons of Vasudeva. Vasudeva's daughter Subhadrā married Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, to whom Abhimanyu was born from her. Abhimanyu's son was Parīkṣit who occupied the Hastināpura throne after the Bhārata war. On account of the importance of the problem, historicity of Kṛṣṇa has been dealt with separately, where the life-story of Kṛṣṇa is given. The descendants of Anamitra, the youngest son of Vṛṣṇi by Mādrī, are called Śainyas through his son Śini. Sātyaki and Yuyudhāna were born in this family.[94]

V

To revert to the main family of the Kukuras, we find that Kukura's son is variously called Vṛṣṇi (*Vāyu, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Kūrma*), Vṛṣṭi (*Brahma*), Dhṛṣṇu (*Harivaṁśa, Agni*), Dhṛṣṭa (*Viṣṇu*), and Vahni by different *Purāṇas*. PARGITER and PRADHAN accept Vṛṣṇi as the correct form.[95] From Vṛṣṇi or Dhṛṣṇu followed in succession : Kapotaroman-Viloman (Revata or Tittiri)-Candanodakadundubhi (Ānaka° or Raivata or Bhava or Nala)-Abhijit-Punarvasu-Āhuka-Ugrasena-Kaṁsa. The *Bhāgavata* inserts Viloman between Vṛṣṇi (Vahni according to the *Bhāgavata*) and Kapotaroman, and mentions Anu as the son of Kapotaroman. PRADHAN proposes to omit Abhijit, which according to him, stands for the name of the sacrifice (Abhijit-Atirātra).[96] It is, however, possible that the son born as the result of the Abhijit sacrifice may himself have been named Abhijit,

[91] See note 84 earlier.

[92] *Matsya*, 45.25-33 ; *Vāyu*, 96.101-114 ; *Hari*, 35.1908-21 ; 39.2080-9.

[93] See table in App. I. Also, *Matsya*, 46.1-10, 23-24 ; *Vāyu*, 96. 143-59 ; *Hari*, 35. 1922-36.

[94] *Matsya*, 45.22-4 ; *Vāyu*, 96.99-100 ; *Hari*, 35.1934-5.

[95] *AIHT*, 105 ; *CAI*, 39-40. [96] *CAI*, 43-47.

and some *Purāṇas* do represent Abhijit as being born through sacrifice. To Punarvasu were born twins Āhuka and Āhukī, the latter of whom was married to the king of Avanti. To Āhuka from a Kāśī princess were born Devaka, Ugrasena and other sons. Āhuka is said to have protected Dvārakā when Kṛṣṇa fought with Śālva. Devaka had four sons (Devavān, Upadeva, Sudeva, Devarakṣita) and seven daughters (Devakī, Śṛtadevī, etc). The daughters of Devaka, as already stated, were married to Vasudeva, and Kṛṣṇa was born of Devakī. Ugrasena had nine sons and five daughters, Kaṁsa being the eldest. Kaṁsa is said to have been Kālanemī in his former birth. He usurped the throne after imprisoning his father. Vasudeva was his minister. Kaṁsa killed seven children of his sister Devakī relying on a prediction that her eighth issue was destined to be his slayer. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma were brought up in Gokula and Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa killed Kaṁsa and reinstated Ugrasena on the Mathurā kingdom.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICITY OF KRSNA

THE Kṛṣṇa problem is one of the most interesting, important, fascinating and elusive topics in the domain of Indian Literature and History, and there is hardly an orientalist of note but has contributed something on the subject. To an orthodox Hindu, Kṛṣṇa is a reality, and His mere name has been the saviour of innumerable distressed souls during the last two thousand years. An ordinary Hindu is never concerned with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa : to investigate the problem is a sacrilege according to him. It was only during the last century when the Western canons of criticism were applied to the problem that scholars doubted the historicity of Kṛṣṇa and maintained that Kṛṣṇa represented a syncretism of more than one person, and a steady influx of papers and monographs began to gather round the problem. It is indeed curious that the same set of facts has led to such diverse conclusions.

A detailed and comprehensive treatment of the whole problem will require a full-fledged monograph. There is not a single book dealing exhaustively with all aspects and connotations of the problem.[1] This chapter aims at the study of the important aspects of the problem in brief in the light of the available material.

I

It is already seen in the previous chapter that Kṛṣṇa belonged to the Sātvata sect of the Yādavas, who formed the Lunar dynasty, and was 61st in descent from Manu as would appear from the genealogy given in App. I. Some *Purāṇas* however represent Kṛṣṇa as coming from the Solar dynasty.[2] Both the Lunar and Solar dynasties thus claimed Kṛṣṇa as their own. The name Kṛṣṇa occurs at many places in Brahmanical literature including Vedic, post-Vedic, epic and Puranic, as also in Buddhistic and Jaina literature.

[1] For important books and papers on the Kṛṣṇa problem, see GARBE, *ERE*, II, 535-538 ; GRIERSON, *ERE*, II, 538-551 ; JACOBI, ERE, VII, 193-197 ; BHAGWAN DAS, *Kṛṣṇa* ; TADPATRIKAR, *Kṛṣṇa Problem* ; BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc* ; Bankim chandra CHATTERJI, *Kṛṣṇa Caritra* (Gujarati trans. by K. M. JHAVERI) ; RAYCHAUDHURY, *Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect* ; HOPKINS, *Religions of India* ; BARTH, *Religions of India* ; KENNEDY, *JRAS*, 1907 ; KEITH, *JRAS*, 1908, 1915 ; S. TATTVABHUSHAN, *Kṛṣṇa and the Gītā* ; *Kṛṣṇa and the Purāṇas* ; DHRUVA, *Āpaṇo Dharma* ; DE, *IHQ*, 18 ; RUBEN, *JAOS*, 61 ; *JRAS*, 1941 ; *Festschrift Thomas* ; TILAK, *Gītārahasya* ; CHANDA, *Archæology and the Vaiṣṇava Tradition* ; HILL, *Bhagavadgītā* ; FARQUHAR, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India.*

[2] Cf. *Hari*. 95-529 : एवमीक्ष्वाकुवंशाद्धि यदुवंशो विनिःसृतः ।

Before coming to the consideration of the various problems connected with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa, it is necessary to deal with the evidence, its chronology and critical evaluation. The evidence can be classified into (i) literary and (ii) epigraphic and sculptural. Literary evidence divides itself into Brahmanic, Buddhistic, Jaina and Greek references. Brahmanical evidence can be chronologically placed as follows : *Ṛgveda, Upaniṣads,* Pāṇini, Patañjali, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas.* This covers a very long period, beginning at a modest estimate from the 3rd millennium B.C. to the 5th century A.C. Later *Purāṇas* and Brahmanic evidence subsequent to the 5th century A.C. are practically valueless for the purposes of our investigation. The *Jātakas* constitute the Buddhistic evidence embracing the period from the early centuries before Christ and the Jain references also relate to the same period. The records of Megasthenes and Arrian have been placed in the 4th century B.C. Epigraphic and sculptural data relate not only to records of the Christian era, but also to monuments pertaining to the early centuries before Christ.

II

To turn to the Brahmanic evidence relating to Kṛṣṇa, it is seen that the *Ṛgveda* (VIII. 85. 3, 4) refers to one Kṛṣṇa whom the *Anukramaṇī* styles Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa. Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa is alluded to also in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (XXX. 9). The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III. 17. 6) mentions Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra as a Vedic seer and pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa. The earliest parts of the *Mahābhārata* represent Kṛṣṇa as a human hero, a religious teacher, and a counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas. Later on, however, he is raised gradually to divinity as a semi-divine, a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. The latest parts of the epic treat him as the Supreme God, full incarnation of Viṣṇu, finally identifying him with Brahman.[3] The *Purāṇas* speak of Kṛṣṇa as a Yādava hero, who spent his early life in Gokula and later migrated to Dvārakā ; he was later deified as the incarnation of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. It may be noted that with the exception of the *Ṛgveda* passage, Kṛṣṇa is mentioned as Devakīputra in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas;* and the last two sources call him also Vāsudeva, i.e., son of Vasudeva. Pāṇini refers to Vāsudeva and Arjuna as objects of worship, and there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the degree of worship implied by Pāṇini.[4] It appears that Pāṇini regarded them as Kṣatriya heroes raised to divinity. The relation of Vāsudeva with Arjuna and Kaṁsa is also indicated. The references in Patañjali clearly show that the deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was complete before his time, and definitely established the unity of the person designated as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.[5]

[3] Cf. GARBE, *ERE,* II, 535 ; FARQUHAR, *ORLI,* 49 f, 78, 87 ; HOPKINS, *GEI,* 395 n. 3 ; also SÖRENSEN'S *Index* under "Kṛṣṇa."

[4] Pāṇini, IV. 3.96 ; IV. 3.98 ; JACOBI, *ERE,* VII, 195 ; BHANDARKAR, *VS,* 4 ; RAYCHAUDHURY, *EHVS,* 30-31.

[5] *Mahābhāṣya* on 2.3.36, 3.1.26 and 3.2.11.

In the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[6] Vāsudeva is described as a scion of the royal family of "upper Madhurā," and receives the epithet Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa).

The Jain *Uttarādhyana Sūtra* (Lecture XXII) states that Vāsudeva was a Kṣatriya prince, and the twelfth *Upāṅga* deals with Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva and Baladeva of the Vṛṣṇi dynasty.

The Greek ambassador shows that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was already deified in the 4th century B.C. among the people of Mathurā, and that he was connected with the Pāṇḍavas.[7]

III

The epigraphic evidence shows the prevalence of the worship of Kṛṣṇa and of temples dedicated to him since the early centuries before the Christian era. The earliest sculptural representation of a scene from the life of Kṛṣṇa dates from the early Kuṣāṇa period (1st-2nd cent. A.C.).[8] The earliest representation of any Brahmanical deity in the whole field of Hindu iconography is that of Balarāma, which cannot be placed later than the 2nd cent. B.C.[9] "*Archæology and the Vaiṣṇava Tradition*" describes epigraphic records pertaining to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.[10] There are two inscribed Garuḍa columns found near Besnagar, which can be placed in the 2nd cent. B.C. The earlier of these was erected by Heliodorus, and the second by Gautamīputra of the Śunga dynasty. Near the Garuḍa column of Heliodorus, and belonging to the same period was discovered the remnant of Makaradhvaja, or "a column with crocodile symbol". Then come the inscriptions at Ghosuṇḍī and Nanaghat, which refer to the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Mora stone slab inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula indicates the Vṛṣṇi origin of Vāsudeva, and one early Mathurā inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Ṣodaśa refers to the column in honour of Vāsudeva.

Having thus summarized the evidence in brief, let us now turn to the various problems connected with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa. We shall state the problems here, and shall then consider them seriatim. (i) The first point is whether Kṛṣṇa was a human being or a divinity at the beginning. (ii) Next we shall deal with the problem whether there was one Kṛṣṇa or several Kṛṣṇas. (iii) Then will be given the life of Kṛṣṇa collated from all sources. (iv) We shall then fix his period. (v) Finally the various theories regarding the Kṛṣṇa problem will be briefly stated and examined.

IV

(i) Whether Kṛṣṇa was a human being or a divinity at the beginning : Regarding the original nature of Kṛṣṇa conflicting evidence is offered by literary records, epigraphy and sculpture. Brahmanic literary works

[6] *Jātakas*, COWELL's Ed. IV, 50 ff.

[7] MCCRINDLE, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 201.

[8] D. R. SAHNI, *ASR*, 1925-26, 183 f. [9] AGRAWALA, *JISOA*, 1937, 136.

[10] *MASI*, No. 5, Calcutta, 1920, 151, 161-163, 166, 169, 171.

lend support both to the human and divine character of Kṛṣṇa, whereas Buddhist and Jain allusions may be said to point to the human nature of Kṛṣṇa. The epigraphic records and sculptural pieces clearly show that Kṛṣṇa had attained divinity at least since the 3rd cent. B.C.

Sifting the different Brahmanical works it is found that the *Ṛgveda*, *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* refer to Kṛṣṇa as a Vedic seer, obviously a human personality.[11] As already stated, Pāṇini indicates that Vāsudeva and Arjuna, originally Kṣatriya heroes, were raised to the rank of gods before his time and Patañjali shows that they had attained divinity by his time. The *Mahābhārata* clearly shows the human and divine character of Kṛṣṇa. Leaving aside the consideration of the point whether the Kṛṣṇa element formed part of the original epic or was a later addition as contended by OLDENBERG and others,[12] it is clear that in the oldest nucleus of the epic we find clear references to the human character of Kṛṣṇa. Evidence of the different stages in the progress of deification of Kṛṣṇa will be found in the *Mahābhārata* itself.[13] In contrast with the earliest portions which clearly bring out the human elements of Kṛṣṇa and portray him as a human hero, he is represented as a semi-divine being in the later portions; whereas the parts of the epic that come still later, regard Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme God. The *Purāṇas* also present similar strata belonging to different ages showing various stages in the deification of the human hero Kṛṣṇa. Megasthenes testifies to the worship of Kṛṣṇa by the Śūrasenas. The earliest inscriptional records of the 2nd cent. B.C. refer to the deification of Kṛṣṇa, to the worship of his sculptural images and to the erection of temples in his honour. He is *devadeva*, and even foreigners ruling in India styled themselves as *Paramabhāgavata*.[14] Subsequent inscriptions, as already stated, also show the divinity of Kṛṣṇa.

Without considering the question of the identity or otherwise of the Vedic Kṛṣṇa, the epic Kṛṣṇa, the Puranic Kṛṣṇa, etc. (which will be dealt with later on) it may be stated that the Vedic Kṛṣṇa is a human being and that the earliest portions of the epic and the *Purāṇas* show the human character of Kṛṣṇa. Buddhist and Jain records also testify to his being a human hero. It is only in the late legends coloured with mythology that Kṛṣṇa is treated as a divine being, and the conclusions that Kṛṣṇa was not a human hero but a solar deity or a vegetation deity, etc., are based on late legends as the result of looking at the story from the wrong end.[15]

[11] See supra, Section II. There were several "holy seers" bearing the name Kṛṣṇa in the Vedic literature (*V. I.* I, 184 f); we have referred only to those among them who were identified with Kṛṣṇa of the Vṛṣṇi race, of the epic tradition.

[12] Cf. WINTERNITZ, *HIL*, I, 456. Dr. SUKTHANKAR in one of his lectures on the *Mahābhārata* delivered in January 1943 before the University of Bombay stated that to understand the *Mahābhārata* it was necessary to understand Kṛṣṇa.

[13] Cf. *Mbh*, V. 79. 5-6.

[14] *Arch. and Vaiṣṇava Trad.*, 151 ff.

[15] Cf. RAYCHAUDHURY, *EHVS*, 39.

Kṛṣṇa, therefore, was originally a real man as evidenced by the pre-epic literature and the earliest part of the *Mahābhārata* itself.

V

(ii) The next point for consideration is whether there was one Kṛṣṇa or there were more than one persons bearing the same name, and as a result of syncretism legend has grown round the name. It should be made clear at the outset that our investigations concern the historicity and identity of Kṛṣṇa the Yādava, (whom we may call the epic Kṛṣṇa) who was also Vāsudeva and Devakīputra, and whose patronymics were Śaurī, Vārṣṇeya, Mādhava, Sātvata, Dāśārha, etc. Identification of this Kṛṣṇa with the Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* or with the counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas or with the charioteer of Arjuna, the expounder of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the founder of Bhāgavatism, the cowherd boy of Gokula, and the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, will also form part of our enquiry, although we shall deal with this aspect in brief.

The identity of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Ṛgveda* with the epic Kṛṣṇa receives no support from Puranic tradition, as he is nowhere mentioned as a seer of Vedic hymns or is in no way connected with Aṅgiras. Many scholars, however, are inclined to identify Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* with the epic Kṛṣṇa especially on account of the similarity of metronyms as also that of doctrines propounded in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Bhagavadgītā*.[16] DE has recently dealt with the problem in some detail and has proved that the two personalities are quite distinct.[17] Ghora Āṅgirasa is never mentioned as the teacher of the epic Kṛṣṇa, whose teachers have been named as Sāndīpani and Garga in the epic and Puranic traditions. Much capital, again, has been made of the alleged similarities of doctrines. The so-called parallels do not form the cardinal doctrines of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and as the latter echoes most of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* and forms its verses by tags from the *Upaniṣads*, parallelisms between the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Upaniṣads* are not at all surprising. It may further be noted that the *Bhagavadgītā* which regards *jñānayajña* as superior to *dravyayajña* never mentions Ghora Āṅgirasa. The alleged identification, therefore, is not proved.

VI

Some scholars believe that the Kṛṣṇa of the *Purāṇas*, the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgīta* are different persons. For maintaining the diversity of the epic and Puranic Kṛṣṇas, it is argued that the *Mahābhārata* contains no reference to the childhood of Kṛṣṇa, and the older *Purāṇas* do not refer to the connection of the Puranic Kṛṣṇa with the Pāṇḍavas. It is true that Kṛṣṇa appears for the first time in the epic at

[16] RAYCHAUDHURY, *EHVS*, 78 ff, and footnote 56 later on.

[17] *IHQ*, XVIII, 297-301.

the Svayaṁvara of Draupadī where he had come from Dvārakā, and the epic is silent as to his earlier life. It is again argued that the life of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula and also during the Bhārata war is contrary to his teachings in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and hence these different irreconcilable features belong to different cycles of legends.

Now, the *Mahābhārata* principally concerns itself with the history of the Bhāratas and naturally Kṛṣṇa's doings and life subsequent to his contact with the Pāṇḍavas have been incorporated in the epic. Again, the *Harivaṁśa* which forms the supplement of the *Mahābhārata* deals exhaustively and exclusively with the life and history of Kṛṣṇa on which the *Mahābhārata* is silent; and it was on account of this that even in the subsequent redactions of the Great Epic nothing was added concerning the early life of Kṛṣṇa. The *Harivaṁśa* and the *Mahābhārata* thus supply a complete life of Kṛṣṇa. It cannot, however, be said that the *Mahābhārata* is entirely silent as to the early life of Kṛṣṇa, as there are some references to his early life in Gokula.[18] The silence of the early *Purāṇas* as to the part Kṛṣṇa played in the great Bhārata war is easily explained on this ground that as the Great Epic exhaustively dealt with it, the *Purāṇas* thought it unnecessary to refer to it. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* expressly states that the *Harivaṁśa* was written to fill up the gaps in the life of Kṛṣṇa as found in the *Mahābhārata*. Hence naturally, the *Purāṇas* deal with the early life of Kṛṣṇa and with other aspects not touched by the *Mahābhārata*. An account of the life of Kṛṣṇa from his birth to death based on a critical examination and collation of the details as given in the *Mahābhārata* and the older *Purāṇas* so as to present a connected and consistent story will be given in the next section. It may, however, be stated that the *Mahābhārata* presents Kṛṣṇa as a Yādava chief, a friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas due to whose tactful guidance alone the latter came out successful in the Bhārata war. Some scholars are inclined to doubt the identity of this Kṛṣṇa, the chief of Dvārakā who often advocated tricky ways with the propounder of the *Bhagavadgītā* who preaches *dharma* as the rule of life.[19] But it may be seen that there is really no such contradiction, inconsistency or incompatibility in the preachings and behaviour of the Vṛṣṇi hero as to justify the theory of two Kṛṣṇas. As the priests of Śiva were the last to retouch the *Mahābhārata*, and as there is as much Śaivism in the *Mahābhārata* as there is Vaiṣṇavism,[20] sectarian rancour may have been responsible for inventing some incidents and darkening the character of Vāsudeva. His actions, however, can be justified on the ground that they were necessitated by peculiar circumstances which may be excused as exceptions to the general rule. The activities of Kṛṣṇa before

[18] Cf. *Mbh.* II. 14. 10; 39.2; 41.4; 68.41; III, 14.10; 263.8; VI. 23.7; XIII. 149.82; XIV. 68.1; 87.11; XVI. 2.20. Cf. also *Bhagavadgītā*, I. 28. 32. 42; VI. 41; XVIII. 1.

[19] Cf. WINTERNITZ, *HIL*, I, 456; GARBE, *ERE*, II, 535 ff.

[20] HOPKINS, *RI*, 356 n, 349 n.

and during the Bhārata war as recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, no doubt, represent him as a human politician par excellence, though the *Mahābhārata* at places attempts to identify him with the god of gods.

The *Harivaṁśa, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta* among the *Purāṇas* deal exhaustively with the life of Kṛṣṇa, and the accounts in the different *Purāṇas* are not only inconsistent but mutually contradictory. RUBEN has critically considered some incidents relating to the life of Kṛṣṇa from different *Purāṇas* and has come to the conclusion that the original supplement (*Khila*) of the *Mahābhārata* was much shorter than the *Khila Harivaṁśa* now current, that the original *Harivaṁśa* is the oldest *Purāṇa* and that the original archetype of the *Harivaṁśa* has been better preserved in the *Brahma*.[21] The order of the *Purāṇas* has variously been placed as : *Viṣṇu-Harivaṁśa-Bhāgavata-Brahmavaivarta*,[22] *Harivaṁśa-Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata-Brahmavaivarta*,[23] *Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata-Brahmavaivarta*,[24] etc. A critical evaluation of the different accounts of Kṛṣṇa given in the *Purāṇas* shows that only the *Brahma* and the *Viṣṇu* have a common text, and that the former has an account older than the *Viṣṇu*.[25] Besides these, the *Padma, Agni, Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta* deal at some length with the Kṛṣṇa story, and the *Harivaṁśa*, truly as supplement of the *Mahābhārata*, goes over the entire Puranic story, carefully omitting all references to the *Mahābhārata* story. The *Bhāgavata* is the only Puranic account which combines both the epic and Puranic accounts setting them in proper context. The *Brahmavaivarta* is a late work, solely written to glorify Rādhā.

VII

Now, it has been suggested that the Kṛṣṇa in the *Purāṇas* and the Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* are distinct personages. Mutual exclusiveness of the two sources has been satisfactorily explained above. It is felt that the lascivious, lustful, immoral Kṛṣṇa of Gokula cannot be the same person as the friend of the Pāṇḍavas and the great teacher of the *Bhagavadgītā*. For one thing, it has not been definitely proved whether Kṛṣṇa had questionable relations with the Gopīs. On account of the absence of any reference in the *Jātaka* story and the *Mahābhārata* to the relations of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs, which is found in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Purāṇas*, some scholars hold that there was no basis in fact for the Gopī stories.[26] Comparisons with later accounts show how each subsequent writer has added from his imagination to the story. Again, the age of Kṛṣṇa when he was in Gokula entirely speaks against any blot to his character,—he was a mere boy. This appears precisely to be the reason why Śiśupāla was silent regarding these

21 *JAOS*, 61, 115-127 ; *JRAS*, 1941, 247-256.
22 Cf. TATTVABHUSHAN, *Kṛṣṇa and the Gītā*, 56.
23 Cf. Durgashanker SHASTRI, *Purāṇa Vivecana*, 133-5.
24 RUBEN, *Festschrift Thomas*, 188-203.
25 Cf. TADPATRIKAR, *Kṛṣṇa Problem*, 276-277.
26 Cf. RAYCHAUDHURY, *EHVS*, 73 f.

incidents in the reviling scene in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. Further, Kṛṣṇa never visited Gokula again after he left it once, which would be inexplicable if he had immoral connections with the cowherd maidens. At the most, all that we can say regarding Kṛṣṇa's life and doings in Gokula is that his youthful loves did not go beyond violent flirtations and a taste for group dancing and singing; and they were rather a precocious manifestation of his richly artistic and vital nature. It may be noted that even in the latest accounts, it is nowhere mentioned that Kṛṣṇa hankered after the Gopīs ; it was they who went mad after him. No blot can be ascribed to his character in any case. Many of the stories associated with Kṛṣṇa's life in Gokula which have been added by later works are mere symbolizations. There is thus nothing inconsistent in identifying the Puranic Kṛṣṇa with the epic Kṛṣṇa. There is indeed no inherent improbability in Kṛṣṇa's being a cowherd in his childhood as well as a warrior-teacher.

The *Purāṇas* indicate Kṛṣṇa's relationship with the Pāṇḍavas and the antiquity of this tradition is also clear from Pāṇini and the Greek records.[27] We have thus established the identity of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, of the *Bhagavadgītā* and of the *Purāṇas*.

Following the lead of Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR it has been argued that Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva were originally different personages who were later merged into a single personality. There is absolutely no foundation in fact for this view. According to BHANDARKAR,[28] the cowherd Kṛṣṇa of the *Purāṇas* is distinct from the Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva of the *Mahābhārata*. BHANDARKAR holds that Vāsudeva was not originally a patronymic but the name of a member of the Sātvata or Vṛṣṇi race, who was worshipped as a Supreme Being, and the tradition of Kṛṣṇa as a sage is seen from the time of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. The conception of Vasudeva as father, according to BHANDARKAR, arose afterwards, and Vāsudeva was identified with the Vedic sage Kṛṣṇa and a genealogy was given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race through Śūra and Vasudeva. Now, the name Vāsudeva occurs once in Vedic literature as a name of Viṣṇu.[29] The *Bagavadgītā*, the *Jātakas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Jain *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* state that Vāsudeva was a scion of the Vṛṣṇi family. The *Mahābhārata* further states that true Vāsudeva was Kṛṣṇa of Yādava, Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata family of Mathurā.[30] The *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Jātakas* and the Greek records also point to the fact of Kṛṣṇa being the son of Vasudeva and Devakī (i.e. of his being Vāsudeva). The fact seems to be that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were one and the same person, and the deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and his identification as an incarnation of Viṣṇu were complete before the period of the *Mahā-*

[27] Cf. Pāṇini IV. 3. 98, who mentions Vāsudeva and Arjuna together, and Megasthenes refers to Kṛṣṇa's connection with Pandia.

[28] *VS*, 13, 49.

[29] *Taitt. Ar.* X. 1.6 : नारायणाय विद्महे वासुदेवाय धीमहि । तन्नो विष्णुः प्रचोदयात् ॥

[30] False Vāsudeva was King of Puṇḍra. cf. *Mbh.* I. 186. 12 ; II. 14.20, etc. For true Vāsudeva, see SÖRENSEN's *Index*.

bhāṣya. It has been contended that the mention of Kṛṣṇa as Devakīputra without mentioning the name of his father shows that his father's name has later been developed from his very name Vāsudeva.[31] But in old days, metronyms were used to distinguish between the sons of different wives, e.g. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, though Vāsudeva were respectively Devakīputra and Rauhiṇeya. KEITH is indeed right when he states that "the separation of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa it is impossible to justify".[32]

VIII

The problem of the deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava prince and preacher of the *Bhagvadgītā* deserves to be briefly considered. It appears that the deification of Kṛṣṇa began not long after his age; and regarding the period required for the process of deification we have to take into account the circumstances prevailing in the past. Buddha was raised to divinity in his own life time. Vāsudeva was not merely a Kṣatriya hero, but raised to divinity by the time of Pāṇini; subsequent references definitely show that long before the 4th Century B.C., Kṛṣṇa was worshipped as the records of Megasthenes would have us believe. The Greek ambassador definitely states that Kṛṣṇa was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The earliest inscriptional and sculptural data indicating the ascription of divinity to Kṛṣṇa date about 2nd Century B.C. The doctrine of *avatāra* shows a developed stage in the *Bhagavadgītā*. It may be seen that a doctrine of *avatāra* was the necessary corollary to the identification of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with the Supreme. Kṛṣṇa, in human form, was the Vṛṣṇi prince of Dvārakā and the charioteer of Arjuna at Kurukṣetra; if he were, at the same time, the highest god, the paradox could only be explained by the theory of *avatara*.

Allied with the question of the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the highest god, is that of his identification with Nārāyaṇa. The exact period when Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was first identified with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu cannot be ascertained. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 1. 6) identifies Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, but the date of that work is not certain. Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu were originally names of distinct deities. Viṣṇu is a *Ṛgvedic* deity, but Nārāyaṇa occurs for the first time in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 3. 4. 1). Viṣṇu in the *Ṛgveda* is but a comparatively minor deity. He gradually rose into prominence in the epic period as the only Supreme god, Śiva being his only rival for the post of honour. One of the reasons why Kṛṣṇa after his deification was identified with Viṣṇu instead of any other godhead seems to be that the epithets of Viṣṇu such as Gopā (*RV*. I. 22. 18) could very well be applicable to Kṛṣṇa. Another reason appears to be that Viṣṇu, who was reputed to be the great benefactor of mankind, the preserver of Dharma since the earliest Vedic times, was the natural choice of the followers of Kṛṣṇa in preference to the malevolent Śiva, the dreadful,

[31] JACOBI, *ERE*, VII, 195. [32] *JRAS*, 1915, 840.

when Kṛṣṇa was deified, and Viṣṇu was made the centre of the *avatāra* theory propounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

It has been suggested that in its early form Bhāgavatism was a development of sun-worship, and Viṣṇu being a solar deity, the identification of the principal figure in the Bhāgavata cult with Viṣṇu,[33] in preference to the Lord of Storm, was a natural course. But it has not yet been definitely proved that the Bhāgavatism was a form of Sun worship.

The deification of Kṛṣṇa and his identification with Viṣṇu as his *avatāra* finds full expression in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and hence may be taken to date at least since the pre-Buddhist period.

IX

(iii) Now, we shall deal with the life of Kṛṣṇa after collating the Puranic texts and the *Mahābhārata* accounts, giving the incidents in a chronological sequence. The complete life, combining the Puranic and epic accounts, as already stated, occurs only in the late *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. In reconstructing the life of Kṛṣṇa, only the old and authentic accounts have been taken into consideration, and we have left out the mythological, symbolical, metaphorical or religious embellishments and colourings that have gathered round the story. Only those facts that might have occurred historically have been included in the life.

As the *Mahābhārata* and some earlier texts do not refer to Kṛṣṇa's life in Gokula, some scholars are inclined to omit these incidents from Kṛṣṇa's life, taking them to be later additions. DHRUVA reads a mixture of poetic fancy and historical facts in the Puranic and *Mahābhārata* stories of Kṛṣṇa, and he seeks symbolical and philosophical explanations for most of the exploits of Kṛṣṇa in childhood.[34] There is, no doubt, some amount of truth in these observations. Some of the later stories are palpably apparent as unhistorical on the face of them, such as the approach of Earth to the gods and the promise of God to be born in Gokula, the prophecy of gods, exaggerated accounts of some of the miraculous feats of child Kṛṣṇa, etc. which were evidently added after the deification of Kṛṣṇa was complete. The accounts in the later *Purāṇas* constitute important landmarks for the development of the Kṛṣṇa myth and the evolution of the Vaiṣṇava religion, though they cannot be relied on as sources of information for the historical life of Kṛṣṇa.

X

To turn now to a brief outline of the life of Kṛṣṇa, after eschewing incidents which appear to have no basis in historical facts, we find, as already stated, that Kṛṣṇa was the son of Vasudeva (of the Yādavas) and Devakī the daughter of Devaka, brother of king Ugrasena of Mathurā. Before the

birth of Kṛṣṇa, Kaṁsa, the son of Ugrasena, had usurped the Mathurā throne and had imprisoned Ugrasena and his minister Vasudeva. Relying on the prophecy of his royal astrologers that Devakī's eighth child would kill him, Kaṁsa used to kill the children of Devakī. Kṛṣṇa was born in the prison cell at Mathurā, but immediately after birth, was removed to Gokula, to the other side of the Jumna with the aid of the prison warders and others who were dissatisfied with the tyrant Kaṁsa. He was brought up in Gokula as the child of Nanda and Yaśodā, whose daughter was substituted for Kṛṣṇa, and the baby daughter was later killed by Kaṁsa.

As a child, Kṛṣṇa appears to have been extra-ordinary, and he passed through many a crisis.[35] He was once attacked with a fatal disease named Pūtanā,[36] but he miraculously escaped. Thereafter, while kept underneath a waggon by his mother, he struck his feet against the wheels of the waggon with the result that the waggon was overturned and the pots and pans were upset and broken. Then, a fearful bird suddenly pounced on Kṛṣṇa and carried him away in its talons. The bird fell down dead after a time and the child was found to be safe. Kṛṣṇa's initiatory rites were performed along with his elder brother Balarāma (son of Vasudeva by Rohiṇī) by Garga, the family priest of the Vṛṣṇi race, who arrived in Gokula in secret.

As a boy Kṛṣṇa was extremely handsome and beautiful and endowed with profound physical strength and supernatural energy. He was the beloved of all boys and girls, and all men and women of Gokula loved him more than their own children. Once while tied to a mortar with a rope round his waist, Kṛṣṇa tried to extricate himself from the rope and began to drag the mortar after him. It fell on its side and rolled after him till it stuck fast amid two Arjuna trees, which eventually were uprooted and fell down.

On account of evil omens and the onrush of hundreds of ferocious wolves, the cowherds in a body left Gokula for Vṛndāvana and soon settled there. In Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa subjugated Kāliya, a Nāga chief, and ordered him to leave the place with his tribe.[37] Kṛṣṇa used to gather his friends in the forest, and enjoyed many a game, during the course of which Balarāma killed Pralamba, an Asura, who joined them dressed as a cowherd boy. In Vṛndāvana, instead of the usual Indrayajña current among herdsmen, Kṛṣṇa established the practice of worshipping Nature, the visible manifestation of God, the Govardhana Hill. There was a heavy down-pour when the herdsmen

[35] There is no settled order in the *Purāṇas* of the various incidents, which are of unequal length in the different *Purāṇas*.

[36] Pūtanā has variously been given as a female nurse, a fearful bird and a terrible giantess. Suśruta (*Uttaratantra*, Ch. 27, 37) mentions Pūtanā as a fatal children's disease. DHRUVA interprets the Pūtanā story to mean that the benevolent power of the Almighty is superior to the power of the diseases harassing young children (*Āpaṇo Dharma*, 758).

[37] BHAGWAN DAS (*Kṛṣṇa*, p. 59) takes the subjugation of Kāliya to represent reign over five senses.

were engaged in their new sacrifice, and through some extraordinary miraculous device, Kṛṣṇa saved them all.[38]

Vraja-līlā : Then came the great dance, the Rāsa, about which so much has been written. Among the Yādavas it was usual to engage in dance and song in which youths and maidens participated. The *Harivaṁśa* represents the Rāsa as a maddening love of youthful maidens for a young man ; in the *Bhāgavata,* it is the deep sensual love of passionate and sprightly girls for a passionate youth ; while the *Brahmavaivarta* describes it as a gross carnality. It may be observed in this connection that Kṛṣṇa was hardly a boy of eleven in Vṛndāvana. He had the usual Gopa taste for group dancing and singing, and these dances, as already stated, are rather a precocious manifestation of Kṛṣṇa's richly artistic and vital nature. Kṛṣṇa taught the herdsmen the principle of true Kātyāyanīpūjā that without absolute surrender of self to Him, worship of Kātyāyanī was of no avail. The *Ṛṣipatnyākhyāna* teaches that God hankers after true love.[39]

Kṛṣṇa's First Deeds : Kṛṣṇa's extraordinary exploits, widespread popularity and great fame reached the ears of Kaṁsa, and he planned to kill the Vṛṣṇi princes Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, through his wrestlers. He sent Akrūra as an envoy to Vṛndāvana with an invitation to Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to visit his court and attend the wrestling bouts. Accordingly they left Vṛndāvana and started for Mathurā. Soon after reaching Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma had an affray with Kaṁsa's men in the streets and bodyguards. In the main tournament (Dhanurmaha) the next day, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma killed the prize-fighters. Kṛṣṇa also killed the tyrant Kaṁsa, and reinstated Ugrasena on the Mathurā throne.

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma then left for Avantipura near Kāśī for their education at the hermitage of Sāndīpani. Their stay at the preceptor was, however, very short, for they were called back by the people of Mathurā on account of invasion. Enraged at Kaṁsa's death, Jarāsandha, his father-in-law and ruler of Magadha invaded Mathurā with a large army a number of times, but Kṛṣṇa repelled the invasions. Kālayavana, a Yavana chief, was instigated by Jarāsandha to fight against Kṛṣṇa ; but the latter got Kālayavana killed by Mucukunda. To avoid unnecessary blood-shed, Kṛṣṇa ultimately left Mathurā, and with his people migrated to Dvārakā on the extreme west coast and settled there. Kṛṣṇa then married Ṛukmiṇī, the daughter of Bhīṣmaka, the Vidarbha king, whom her brother intended to marry to Śiśupāla, the Cedī king.

Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas : Kṛṣṇa appears for the first time in the *Mahābhārata* at the Svayaṁvara of Draupadī which he attended. After the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, Kṛṣṇa sent them many presents. The

Pāṇḍavas then re-established their sovereignty in Khāṇḍava, founded Indraprastha, and settled there, after which Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā.

In the course of his pilgrimage, Arjuna visited the holy Prabhāsa, where Kṛṣṇa came to see him and took him to Dvārakā. On Kṛṣṇa's advice, Arjuna captured and married his sister, Subhadrā. Kṛṣṇa got a magnificent Assembly Hall built for the Pāṇḍavas by Maya, the Dānava architect, whose life was saved by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in their burning of the Khāṇḍava forest. Kṛṣṇa then advised king Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājasūya, but as a preliminary to it, visited Girivraja, the capital of Magadha, along with Bhīma and Arjuna, where Bhīma slew Jarāsandha, the Magadha King, and the imprisoned kings were set free. At the Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa washed the feet of the Brāhmaṇas. Bhīṣma declared Kṛṣṇa to be the Supreme God and the only person fit for *Agrapūjā* (first worship), which shows that Kṛṣṇa was deified in his own life-time. Śiśupāla, the late generalissimo of Jarāsandha, objected to the *Agrapūjā* being offered to Kṛṣṇa, censured Kṛṣṇa, Bhīṣma and the Pāṇḍavas, and was slain by Kṛṣṇa. After the successful conclusion of Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā.

The game of dice that finally led to the banishment of the Pāṇḍavas was played immediately after Kṛṣṇa left for Dvārakā. During the Pāṇḍavas' exile, Kṛṣṇa visited them thrice in deep forest, and attended the marriage of Abhimanyu (son of Subhadrā and Arjuna) with Uttarā, daughter of king Virāṭa, at Virāṭanagara, after the period of exile was over. After returning to Hastināpura, the Pāṇḍavas demanded their share of the kingdom from Duryodhana, the Kuru prince, but the latter turned a deaf ear to all proposals from the Pāṇḍavas. Envoys were sent by each side to try to effect a compromise between the contending parties, but these proved futile. After it was found that war was inevitable, both parties tried to gather forces on their sides, and Arjuna and Duryodhana went to Dvārakā to seek the aid of Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna preferred the single-handed, non-combatant Kṛṣṇa as an ally, who later, became his charioteer; and Duryodhana selected the large army of veteran Nārāyaṇas. Balarāma preferred to remain neutral. As a last resort, Kṛṣṇa himself went as the envoy of the Pāṇḍavas to Hastināpura to see if any means could be found to avoid the disastrous war. His efforts were of no avail. He tried to win over Karṇa to the side of the Pāṇḍavas, but Karṇa desired to remain true and loyal to Duryodhana.

During the Bhārata war, Kṛṣṇa helped the Pāṇḍavas in a number of ways. On the first day, when Arjuna was unnerved at the sight of his relatives in the opposite camp and was at a loss to know his duty, Kṛṣṇa preached him the "Song Celestial" which told him what his true work was. It is beyond the scope of the present chapter to say anything about the "Song Celestial". Kṛṣṇa strained every nerve, physically and spiritually, to bring forth victory for the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛṣṇa's efficiency as a charioteer helped Arjuna a good deal. He twice started to attack Bhīṣma, took charge of Bhagadatta's missile which was aimed against Arjuna and expressed a number of times his readiness to kill the enemies himself. Kṛṣṇa received nume-

rous wounds and injuries in the war and sometimes was temporarily overwhelmed. In the matter of killing Bhūriśravā, Droṇa, Karṇa and Duryodhana (among others) Kṛṣṇa may be said to have forced the Pāṇḍavas to play frauds ; but these were justifiable under the exigencies of circumstances. Many a time during the war, Kṛṣṇa not only tactfully guided the Pāṇḍavas as to the particular course to be taken, but encouraged and urged them as also gave them spiritual advice, consolations, etc. In fact, it was mainly and solely due to the important part played by Kṛṣṇa in the great war that the Pāṇḍavas emerged victorious.

Yudhiṣṭhira was installed on the throne at Hastināpura, and Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā, to come once more to Hastināpura to be present at the Aśvamedha of Yudhiṣṭhira. He revived the still-born child of Uttarā, which later was named Parīkṣit. The Aśvamedha was solemnized in all pomp and glory, and Kṛṣṇa bade farewell to the Pāṇḍavas for the last time.

Then for many years, Kṛṣṇa passed at Dvārakā a life of peace, pleasure and happiness, when at last there arose a fateful dissension amongst the various Yādava tribes. With life of peace and luxury, the Yādavas daily grew sensuous and vicious, and became addicted to drinking. Once they went to Prabhāsa to perform religious rites, leaving only women, children and old men at Dvārakā. There they enjoyed in various ways and drank heavily. From hot words they came to blows, and a great battle was fought on the holy shrine, brother fighting against brother, and kith against kin. The entire Yadu race was destroyed in the struggle, leaving only four, viz., Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Dāruka (Kṛṣṇa's charioteer) and Babhru. Balarāma thereafter went to the sea and gave up his life.

Kṛṣṇa sent his charioteer to Hastināpura with the news and a message to Arjuna to come to Dvārakā to look after the women and children. He himself consoled the wailing women and children, and asked them to await Arjuna's arrival and then to accompany him to Hastināpura as Dvārakā was destined to be swallowed by the sea. Kṛṣṇa then left Dvārakā and retired into deep forest. Arjuna came to Dvārakā, took with him the remnants of the Yadu family, and installed Vajra, the only surviving grandson of Kṛṣṇa, on the throne of Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa, when in deep meditation, was hit by the arrow of a hunter who mistook him for deer, and passed away.[40]

XI

(iv) The date of Kṛṣṇa need not detain us long. We have already seen that Kṛṣṇa was connected with the Pāṇḍavas, and lived during the period of the Bhārata war. Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya, a prominent figure in the *Mahābhārata* story, is mentioned in the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, so that Kṛṣṇa lived before the compilation of the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*.[41] The

[40] From the name of the hunter, viz. Jara, it may be reasonable to infer that Kṛṣṇa died of old age.

[41] WEBER, *HIL*, 90 n.

great battle at Kurukṣetra is a historical fact; but there are conflicting traditional views regarding the date of the battle.

The Aihole Inscription of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II indicates the year 3102 B.C., which is the starting point of the Kaliyuga era, as the year of the battle of Kurukṣetra. This is the view held by Āryabhaṭṭa and ancient Hindu astronomers and chronologists, and C. V. VAIDYA, TRIVEDA[42] and other historians lend their support to this view. C. V. VAIDYA[43] has shown that Megasthenes mentions 138 kings to have ruled between Heracles (Kṛṣṇa) and Sandrakottas (Candragupta), and allowing an average of 20 years for each king, Kṛṣṇa's period comes to be (2760+312 B.C.=) c. 3072 B.C. Another tradition of astronomers and historians headed by Vṛddhagarga, Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa places the period of the Bhārata war in B.C. 2449. The third tradition is based on the Puranic records, which state that the interval of period between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Nanda was 1015 (1050 or 1500) years i.e. about 1400 (or 1800) B.C.[44] PARGITER fixes the date of the Bhārata battle approximately at 950 B.C.[45] According to PRADHAN the date is 1151 B.C.,[46] while Shama SHASTRI gives it as 1613 B.C.[47] RAYCHAUDHURY dates Parikṣit's birth about 1412 B.C.,[48] and JAYASWAL places it about 1424 B.C.[49] WILFORD, BUCHANAN, COLEBROOKE, and WILSON take the Bhārata war to have been fought in about the 13th or the 14th century B.C.[50] In view of the conflicting data offered by the different traditions as also on account of the diverse conclusions reached by scholars on the same data, it is difficult to place reliance on any particular tradition.

XII

(v) Finally we come to the different theories regarding Kṛṣṇa held by various scholars. The views of BHANDARKAR that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were different persons, etc., have already been referred to. These views have been accepted by GARBE, GRIERSON, JACOBI, WINTERNITZ[51] and others, and rejected by HOPKINS, KEITH and RAYCHAUDHURY.[52] We have tried to refute these views. WINTERNITZ hints at there being a syncretism of three persons in the Kṛṣṇa story,[53] KENNEDY says there were four persons thus syncretized,[54] and SEDGWICK states that besides the syncretism of a historic and a divine hero, there was confusion of two historic heroes in the Kṛṣṇa story.[55] As regards the identity of Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*

42 *Festschrift Kane*, 515-525.
43 *Mahābhārata Upasaṁhāra*, Ch. 4.
44 RAYCHAUDHURY, *EHVS*, 62 ff.
45 *AIHT*, 179.
46 *CAI*, 248.
47 *Gavām Ayana*, 155.
48 *PHAI*, 1927, 15.
49 *JBORS*, *I*, 109 ff.
50 WILSON, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 232.
51 Respectively in *ERE*, II. 535 ff; *ERE*, II. 538 ff; *ERE*, VII. 193 ff; *HIL*, I. 456.
52 Respectively in *JRAS*, 1905, 384; *JRAS*, 1915, 548; *EHVS*, 35 ff.
53 *HIL*, I, 456.
54 *JRAS*, 1907, 961.
55 *JBBRAS*, 23, 115 ff.

CHAPTER III

THE BHĀRATA WAR AND AFTER

THE Puranic legends represent Balarāma, the elder brother of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, whose historicity has been proved in the last chapter, as having married Revatī, the daughter of Kakudmin Raivata, who is stated to be the son of Revata, the founder of Kuśasthalī. Kakudmin is said to have approached Brahmā to seek his advice regarding his daughter's marriage, and on return, found his kingdom overtaken by the Yādavas. The legends seem to suggest that Raivata lost his kingdom, and after some time when the Yādavas had established themselves in Ānarta, Kakudmin Raivata, a descendant of Revata, gave his daughter in marriage to Balarāma[1].

It is interesting to see the sides the different tribes of the Yādavas took in the Bhārata war. Kṛṣṇa himself joined the Pāṇḍavas as a non-combatant ally, and sent a large body of warlike cowherds called Nārāyaṇas to fight for Duryodhana. The various Yādava tribes, the Bhojas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, Mādhavas, Daśārhas, Āhukas, Kukuras, etc. were divided in their allegiance. The majority naturally sided with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛtavarman and the Bhojas joined Duryodhana. Balarāma refused to take any part in the contest, and withdrew altogether from the scene of action.[2] Some years after the Bhārata war the Yādavas were ruined by fratricidal strife, and Kṛṣṇa died. The final overthrow of the Vṛṣṇis has been ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards the Brāhmaṇas.[3] Finally, as already stated, the Yādavas abandoned Dvārakā which was encroached on by the sea, and retreated northward under Arjuna's leadership. They were, however, attacked and broken up by the rustic Ābhīras of Rajputana. Arjuna brought back the bulk of the people at Indraprastha, and placed Vajra, Kṛṣṇa's grandson, the surviving Vṛṣṇi prince, over them, after establishing Hārdikya's son at Mārttikāvatī and Yuyudhāna's grandson on the river Sarasvatī[4].

I

So far we have dealt with the Yādavas from the earliest times to the end of the Bhārata war. The table given in Appendix I summarises the results stated hitherto and tells the whole history in a nutshell. Before proceeding to describe the later history of the Yādavas, let us make some general observations regarding the social and political life of the Yādavas, their con-

1 Cf. *BG*, I., i, 8.

2 PARGITER, *JRAS*, 1908, 333 ff.

3 *Arth.* I. 6 ; *Jā.* IV. 55-6 ; V. 138 ; *Mbh.* XVI. 1.15-22 ; 2. 10.

4 *Mbh* [illegible]2-72 ; XVII. 1. 8. 9 ; *Br.* 210-212.

as their favourite hero is victorious or defeated. There is thus no allusion in the passage to the slaying of the black man by the red man or of winter by the spirit of spring and summer as contended by KEITH.

A word may finally be said about Rādhā who plays so important a part in the late Bhāgavata religion. Though traditional pandits try to find veiled references to Rādhā in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, it is seen that the name occurs for the first time in the 9th cent. A.C.[67] and that the Rādhā worship is a late growth in Bhāgavatism.

[67] Cf. CHATTERJI, *BSOS*, VIII, 457-466.

and Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, GARBE, GRIERSON, MAJUMDAR, RAYCHAUDHURY, Von SCHROEDER[56] and others accept the identity, whereas Max MÜLLER, TILAK, DE, MACDONELL and KEITH[57] deny the identity. We have already shown above that the latter view is more likely.

As regards the original human character of Kṛṣṇa which we have tried to prove, it may be stated that BHANDARKAR, BÜHLER, GARBE, GRIERSON, RAYCHAUDHURY, SEAL[58] and others admit that Kṛṣṇa was a human teacher. According to BARTH, Kṛṣṇa is beyond all doubt a popular divinity, whom he considers to be a solar deity.[59] GRIERSON also finds connection between the religion preached by Kṛṣṇa and Sun worship.[60] But there is nothing to show the solar origin of Bhāgavatism.[61] Regarding BARTH'S view KEITH has shown that no original solar character can be ascribed to Kṛṣṇa and that the very name Kṛṣṇa tells seriously against the solar theory.[62]

HOPKINS describes Kṛṣṇa as a tribal god, who arose among the polyandrous Pāṇḍavas, one of the wild tribes in the Gangetic delta.[63] But there is no support for holding the Pāṇḍavas as a wild tribe, since the Indian tradition unanimously describes them as an off-shoot of the Kuru race.[64] The polyandrous marriage does not rule out the Pāṇḍavas as being outside the Aryan pale; for the Pāñcālas approved of it, and the *Mahābhārata* itself speaks of such marriages among the Aryans. All the same, the marriages were exceptions. There is, again, no proof to establish that Kṛṣṇa was a patron god of any section of the Kuru tribe. So, the theory of HOPKINS remains unsubstantiated.

KEITH regards Kṛṣṇa as a vegetation deity and states that the whole character of Kṛṣṇa both as a child and as a hero can be derived from Kṛṣṇa as the spirit of reviving vegetation.[65] The legend of Kaṁsa has been taken as a mythological invention based on the ritual of the child god and the slaying of a rival. But Kṛṣṇa's connection with cattle is no proof that he was a vegetation deity, because the Yamunā region has been well known for its cattle even in the early Vedic period. The *Mahābhāṣya* passage[66] about the slaying of Kaṁsa simply means that the countenances of the adherents of Kaṁsa and Vāsudeva assume different colours like red or dark according

[56] Respectively in *ERE*, II, 535 ff; *ERE*, II, 538 ff; *Cultural Heritage of India*, III, 11-12; *EHVS*, 78 ff; *V. I.* 184.

[57] Respectively in *SBE*, I, 52, n. 1; *Gītārahasya*, Reprint, 1915, 538 ff; *IHQ.* XVIII, 297 ff; *V. I.* I, 184 f.

[58] Respectively in *IA*, 1889, 189; *IA*, 1894, 248; *Philosophy of Ancient India*, 83-85; *IA*, 1908, 253; *EHVS*, Ch. I; *Comp. Studies in Vaiṣṇavism and Christianity*, 10.

[59] *RI*, 166.

[60] *IA*, 1908, 253.

[61] DE, *BSOS*, *VI*, 669-672.

[62] *JRAS*, 1908, 171.

[63] *RI*, 388, 466-67.

[64] Cf. RAYCHAUDHURY, *EHVS*, 43.

[65] *JRAS*, 1908, 171.

[66] The passage reads: केचित्कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः। वर्णान्यत्वं खल्वपि पश्यन्ति। केचित्काल्मुखा भवन्ति केचिद्रक्तमुखाः।

as their favourite hero is victorious or defeated. There is thus no allusion in the passage to the slaying of the black man by the red man or of winter by the spirit of spring and summer as contended by KEITH.

A word may finally be said about Rādhā who plays so important a part in the late Bhāgavata religion. Though traditional pandits try to find veiled references to Rādhā in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, it is seen that the name occurs for the first time in the 9th cent. A.C.[67] and that the Rādhā worship is a late growth in Bhāgavatism.

[67] Cf. CHATTERJI, *BSOS*, VIII, 457-466.

CHAPTER III

THE BHĀRATA WAR AND AFTER

THE Puranic legends represent Balarāma, the elder brother of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, whose historicity has been proved in the last chapter, as having married Revatī, the daughter of Kakudmin Raivata, who is stated to be the son of Revata, the founder of Kuśasthalī. Kakudmin is said to have approached Brahmā to seek his advice regarding his daughter's marriage, and on return, found his kingdom overtaken by the Yādavas. The legends seem to suggest that Raivata lost his kingdom, and after some time when the Yādavas had established themselves in Ānarta, Kakudmin Raivata, a descendant of Revata, gave his daughter in marriage to Balarāma[1].

It is interesting to see the sides the different tribes of the Yādavas took in the Bhārata war. Kṛṣṇa himself joined the Pāṇḍavas as a non-combatant ally, and sent a large body of warlike cowherds called Nārāyaṇas to fight for Duryodhana. The various Yādava tribes, the Bhojas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, Mādhavas, Daśārhas, Āhukas, Kukuras, etc. were divided in their allegiance. The majority naturally sided with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛtavarman and the Bhojas joined Duryodhana. Balarāma refused to take any part in the contest, and withdrew altogether from the scene of action.[2] Some years after the Bhārata war the Yādavas were ruined by fratricidal strife, and Kṛṣṇa died. The final overthrow of the Vṛṣṇis has been ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards the Brāhmaṇas.[3] Finally, as already stated, the Yādavas abandoned Dvārakā which was encroached on by the sea, and retreated northward under Arjuna's leadership. They were, however, attacked and broken up by the rustic Ābhīras of Rajputana. Arjuna brought back the bulk of the people at Indraprastha, and placed Vajra, Kṛṣṇa's grandson, the surviving Vṛṣṇi prince, over them, after establishing Hārdikya's son at Mārttikāvatī and Yuyudhāna's grandson on the river Sarasvatī[4].

I

So far we have dealt with the Yādavas from the earliest times to the end of the Bhārata war. The table given in Appendix I summarises the results stated hitherto and tells the whole history in a nutshell. Before proceeding to describe the later history of the Yādavas, let us make some general observations regarding the social and political life of the Yādavas, their con-

[1] Cf. *BG*, I., i, 8.

[2] PARGITER, *JRAS*, 1908, 333 ff.

[3] *Arth*. I. 6; *Jā*. IV. 55-6; V. 138; *Mbh*. XVI. 1.15-22; 2. 10.

[4] *Mbh*. XVI. 7.32-72; XVII. 1. 8, 9; *Br*. 210-212.

tribution to the spread of the Aryan culture, their method of government, and the location of Dvārāvatī, the capital of the Yādavas.

As already indicated, the Sātvatas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Devāvṛdhas and Bhojas among the various branches of the Yādavas have been mentioned in Vedic texts.[5] Though the Śūrasenas are not referred to in Vedic literature, they are included among the peoples of Brahmarṣideśa by Manu.[6] Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora and Cleisobera.[7] The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* style the ruling family of Mathurā as the Yadus or Yādavas, and PARGITER suggests that the Śūrasenas were Sātvata Yādavas.[8] Śaśabindu, Bhīma Sātvata, Vidarbha, Kratha, Kaiśika and princes of the Vṛṣṇis, Andhakas and allied tribes of the Yādavas, as shown earlier, held sway over a large tract of country and carried the torch of the Aryan culture over a large area in the west and south. Rajputana, Malwa, Gujarat and Deccan seem to have been subjected by the various Yādava tribes under their settlement, and Aryanised the peoples and tribes in these parts. The *Purāṇas* sometimes style the Yādavas as Asuras, Daityas or Dānavas,[9] which may be due to their ethnical mixture. It may also be recalled that Yadu, the progenitor of the race, was born of a *pratiloma* marriage, abhorrent to the later *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*; and hence the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* naturally looked down upon the race.

The subsequent marital relations contracted by the Yādava kings with princesses from Gāndhāra, Madra and the Dānavas, show cultural contact with those outside the Aryan fold. Their occupation of Dvārakā brought the Yādavas in close relation with the semi-Aryan people around the country as also with the Aryans of the Madhyadeśa. That the Yādavas were connected by marital ties with the leading ruling families of the day will be evident even from those briefly noted, while giving genealogies, as also from the table in Appendix I. Not only did the kings of renowned families give their daughters in marriage to the Yādava princes, but they accepted as well princesses from the Yādava families as brides. The fact that different traditions represent the Yādavas as progenitors of a number of ruling families of historical times[10] amply shows the great part played by the Yādavas in spreading the Aryan culture over India. The Yādavas were in possession of Mathurā and the adjoining tracts as also of Dvārakā,[11] Vidarbha,[12] Avanti,[13] Daśārṇa,[14] Māhiṣmatī,[15] etc. Sometime before the Bhārata war,

5 See above, p. 99 f.

6 *Manu*, II. 19.

7 Cf. BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism*, 12-12.

8 *AIHT*, 170-71, 279.

9 Cf. *Hari*, 55.3061 ; 94.5153, 5157, 5168 ; *Mbh.* VI. 141. 15 styles Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas as Vrātyas.

10 The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* show almost all the royal houses in Central India, Malwa and Deccan to have originated from the Yādavas.

11 *Vāyu*, 96.60 ; *Hari*, 40.2095.

12 *Matsya*, 44.36-37 ; *Vāyu*, 95.36 ; also RAYCHAUDHURY, *PHAI*, 4th Ed. 123.

13 *Matsya*, 44.66, 70 ; *Hari*, 38.2023.

14 *Hari*, 91. 4967 ; *Mbh*, V. 90.10-11.

15 Cf. *Mbh.* II. 31. 21 ff ; V. 163.4

Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, rose into prominence and extended his supremacy around, subjugating Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, etc. and king Śiśupāla of the Cedīs, Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, Bhīṣmaka of Vidarbha, Vakra of the Kārūṣas, and others accepted the suzerainty of Jarāsandha. Kaṁsa, the Yādava king, was Jarāsandha's son-in-law, having married his daughters Asti and Prāpti, and naturally accepted his overlordship. Relying on his relation with Jarāsandha, Kaṁsa tyrannised over his subjects who were completely dissatisfied with him, and Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma killed him. Enraged at this, Jarāsandha attacked the Mathurā kingdom a number of times, but Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas repulsed the onslaughts. Ultimately, however, finding resistance no more of any avail, the Yādavas migrated in a body to Dvārakā. Later on, Bhīma and Arjuna killed Jarāsandha with Kṛṣṇa's help, and released the large band of princes imprisoned by Jarāsandha. Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva was placed on the Magadha throne. During the Bhārata war, Kṛṣṇa and the western Yādavas from Gujarat joined the Pāṇḍavas, while the remaining Yādava tribes sided with the Kauravas.[16]

The ultimate destruction of the Yādavas as the result of internal struggle is already referred to. In the period of the Bhārata war, the Yādavas were much given to sensual pleasures and drinking, and these accelerated their downfall. Polygamy was generally practised by the ruling families in ancient India, and hence, polygamy cannot be pointed out as the special feature of the Yādava kings. Marriages with maternal uncle's sons seem to have been common among the Yādavas.

II

The *Mahābhārata* supplies us with interesting particulars which give a fairly good idea of the republican government of the different tribes of the Yādavas.[17] It appears that the legal procedure according to the *Śāstras* was followed in the administration of justice and in the general method of administration of the *gaṇas*. Departments of internal and foreign affairs, espionage, finance, treasury, etc. were maintained. Brave, active and dutiful officers called Yuktas were employed to ensure administrative discipline, and their orders were strictly enforced. The President of the *gaṇa* looked to the execution of the policy laid down by the council of elders. These elders were to be obeyed as much as the officers of the government. The council hall of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis was called Sudharmā where assemblies were held on important occasions and deliberations on the course of action took place. The meetings were convened by Sabhāpāla, or the secretary of the Council. Every one expressed himself freely in these meetings, and the sagacity and persuasiveness of the speaker carried the day. The views of the President were listened to with respect and generally acted upon.

[16] HOPKINS, *CHI*, I, 274-275; PARGITER, *JRAS*, 1908, 334.

[17] *Mbh*, I. 212.12 ff; XII. 81.25, 29; cf. also MAJUMDAR, *Corp. Life*, 119; H. N. SINHA, *Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity*, London, 1938, 255 ff.

There were a number of *Gaṇamukhyas,* chiefs of the clans, who held important offices in the state. Often, parties and party leaders contended for power. That each clan or tribe was free to take the course of action best suited to its interests would be evident from the different sides these tribes took in the Bhārata war. On the whole, the *Mahābhārata* picture is that of tribal oligarchy.

III

There is much difference of opinion among scholars about the location of Dvārāvatī or Dvārakā, the capital of the Yādavas. At present there is a port to the westernmost part of Kathiawad known as Dwarka, which is a place of pilgrimage, one of the seven sacred cities reputed to grant salvation,[18] and regarded as the site of the ancient capital.[19] Mūla-Dvārakā is an island in the sea, about 22 miles east of Prabhāsapaṭṭana or Somnath.[20] Modern Junagadh at the foot of the Girnar Hills (which have been taken as Mt. Raivataka) has also been identified as the site of old Dvārakā.[21] Besides these, Dvārakā has been variously placed on the coast between Porbunder and Miyana, near Madhupur, and 3 miles south-west from Kodinar.[22]

The *Mahābhārata* and the old *Purāṇas* are unanimous in stating that the Yādavas established their capital on the site of the ruins of Kuśasthalī, the ancient capital of Ānarta.[23] Kuśasthalī and Dvārakā occur as synonyms. All the authorities further agree in stating that Dvārakā was near Mt. Raivataka. Basing their conclusion on the identification of Raivataka with Mt. Girnar, BHATTASALI and Durgashanker SHASTRI have pointed to Junagadh as the site of ancient Dvārakā[24]. Junagadh or Girinagara as it was known anciently, is no doubt an old town ; but it was never known as Dvārakā. It is again, more than 70 miles from the seashore, whereas there is a persistent tradition, which is also ancient, maintaining that Dvārakā was on the coast-line ;[25] and this tradition cannot be easily dismissed. The identification of Mt. Raivataka mentioned in this connection in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas,* with Mt. Girnar has also not been established beyond doubt.[26]

The main argument against the identification of the ancient capital with the site of modern Dwarka which is on the coast line, is that it is about 110 miles from Mt. Girnar (identified with Mt. Raivataka). It is true there is no mountain close to modern Dwarka ; but the Barada Hills in Halar are

18 Cf. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका । पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

19 DEY, *GD,* 58 f, 111, 232 ; ALTEKAR, *IA,* 1925, App., 25 ; PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 289.

20 Cf. H. SHASTRI, *NPP,* XII; 97-100.

21 BHATTASALI, *IHQ,* X, 541-550 ; Durgashanker SHASTRI, *AS,* 377-386.

22 BURGESS, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh,* London, 1876, 13.

23 *Mbh.* II. 14, 49-67 ; *Hari,* II. 55 ff ; *Mbh.* I. 220 ; SÖRENSEN, *Index to Mbh,* 433.

24 Resp. *IHQ,* X, 541-550 ; *AS,* 377-386. 25 *Mbh.* XV, 8 ; *Hari.* II. 56.26-27.

26 Cf. PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 289 note

not far from the site, and they can be identified with Mt. Raivataka.[27] That Dvārakā was not a place of pilgrimage at the time of the Bhārata war would appear from the fact that the Pāṇḍavas have not been represented as visiting the site in their Tīrthayātrā. It seems to have gained status as a tīrtha after the Bhārata war, and at the time of the composition of the *Mahābhārata* (c. 2nd century B.C.) Dvārakā was regarded a sacred tīrtha. Nārada describes the place as an important sacred site.[28] Piṇḍāraka tīrtha mentioned by Nārada is still to be found at modern Dwarka.[29] It may, therefore, be said that the antiquity of the present site of Dwarka goes back to at least 2000 years.

There are, no doubt, no epigraphic or inscriptional records nor are there any copper-plate grants in connection with this Dwarka, which may indicate that the site was comparatively unknown in the historic period. The site is said to have commenced its career so far as epigraphic records are concerned since the 12th century A.C. The copper plates and inscriptions brought forth in connection with Junagadh, be it noted, refer to it as Girinagara, and never as Dvārakā ; and besides it is far off from the sea.

Thus there are objections to the identification of Dvārakā either with the modern Dwarka or with Junagadh, and we cannot establish the identification with absolute certainty. Taking into consideration the facts that successive holy places arise on the same sacred spot, that the 2000 year old tradition may have got some basis for its currency and that the modern site is near the sea as also near a range of hills, we may not be far from truth in looking to modern Dwarka as the site of the old capital of the Yādavas.

IV

After the disastrous destruction of the Yādavas, we get no consistent traditional record of the Yādavas from the *Purāṇas*. They only speak of 23 Śūrasenas having ruled during the period from the Bhārata war to Mahāpadma Nanda.[30] In the Buddhist Age, the Śūrasenas are said to have ruled over Mathurā, and the Śūrasena king contemporaneous with Buddha was Avantiputto, son of an Avanti princess, and his personal name may be Subāhu.[31] Megasthenes, the Hellenic ambassador, testifies to the prevalence of the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā among the Śūrasenas.[32] Some coins of the Śunga period record names of at least twelve kings of Mathurā, who may have been Śūrasenas (or Yādavas).[33] The Mathurā region passed

[27] See n. 26 above. [28] *Mbh*, III. 80.82 ff.

[29] Cf. *AS*, 611 f. Shri Durgashanker SHASTRI does not mention that Piṇḍāraka tīrtha has been mentioned in the *Mbh.* in connection with Dvārakā, and thus ignores the importance of the point.

[30] PARGITER, *DKA*, 23-24, 69 ; *Matsya*, 272.17 ; *Vāyu*, 99-325 : शूरसेनास्त्रयोविंशत् ।

[31] RHYS DAVIDS, *CHI*, I, 172, 185-86.

[32] MCCRINDLE, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 140 n, 201 ; *MASI*, 5, 156-157.

[33] RAPSON, *CHI*, I, 526.

into the hands of the Śakas in the second half of the first century B.C.[34] As to the connection of the Yādavas with the western coast after they left Dvārakā, we have no records to rely on.

Of the Vidarbha branch of the Yādavas, known as Bhojas, king Bhīṣmaka was ruling at the time of Kṛṣṇa, and the latter married his daughter Rukmiṇī. There is inscriptional evidence, including the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, to show that the Bhojas continued in Vidarbha even after the period of Aśoka till c. 150 B.C., though latterly under Āndhra suzerainty.[35] The Vākāṭakas in the Gupta period have been taken as coming from the Bhojas and Kratha-Kaiśikas.[36] In the southern Punjab, northern Rajputana and in Alwar and Bharatpur, there was a confederation of Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas, who are mentioned by Pāṇini[37] and appear among the peoples of the frontiers of the Gupta empire in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. These republican governments, therefore flourished between the 6th cent. B.C. and the 4th cent. A.C.[38] Ārjunāyanas were the descendants of Sahasrārjuna (Haihaya-Yādava), and Yaudheyas were Ānavas.[39] The Kalingas and the Āndhras have been included among the Yādava kingdoms, as also the kingdom of Aśmakas with their capital at Potali or Potana, Pratiṣṭhāna of later times.[40]

Of the later history of the Yādavas at Mathurā, it is stated that a ninth century inscription contains the names of seven Śūrasena Yādavas, and two inscriptions found at Mathurā and Mahāvana record the existence of Ajayapāla and Haripāla, respectively in 1150 and 1170 A.C.[41] But no connected account is available. No definite information about the Yādavas can be obtained during the Gupta period or immediately thereafter. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the Deccan styled themselves as scions of the Yaduvaṁśa.[42] In medieval times, it became a fashion among the Rajput and other princes of India to trace their genealogies either from the Solar or the Lunar dynasty, and they got the genealogies prepared by Pandits at their courts.

V

R. G. BHANDARKAR records a connected account of the Yādavas in the Deccan,—of the earlier Yādavas in Seuṇadeśa who were feudatories of the

34 RAPSON, *CHI*, I, 526.

35 *CHI*, I, 473 (THOMAS), 514 (RAPSON), 535 (RAPSON), 600 (BARNETT).

36 S. K. AIYANGAR, *Vākātakas in Gupta History*, 9; *AI*, 118; *History of Berar*, 447, 458.

37 *Pāṇini*, V. 3.117; IV. 2.53; *CHI*, I. 528 (RAPSON).

38 RAPSON, *CHI*, I, 528. 39 PARGITER, *AIHT*, 109, 264.

40 S. K. AIYANGAR, *OC*. II. 355; *AI*, 38; cf. also RAPSON, *CHI*, I, 316, who includes Aśmakas and Vītihotras among Haihayas (an off-shoot of the Yādavas).

41 Cf. Durgashanker SHASTRI, *AS*, 349.

42 For full particulars about the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, see ALTEKAR'S *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times* (Poona, 1934). Mm. Pandit B. N. REU, however, connects the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Sūrya-Vaṁśa (*History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, Jodhpur, 1933, 10-14).

Cālukyas, and of the later Yādavas of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad).[43] He relies on copper-plates and the *Vratakhaṇḍa* by Hemādri for his description. The earliest king mentioned is Subāhu, a *cakravartin*, who divided his kingdom among his four sons. Dṛḍhaprahāra, the second son, became king of the South, and his capital is differently placed at Śrīnagara and Candrādityapura (probably Cāndor in Nasik District) in the *Vratakhaṇḍa* and the copper-plate grants. He was succeeded by his son Seuṇacandra, the founder of Seuṇapura. After him, his kingdom was called Seuṇadeśa, which extended from Nasik to Devagiri. Seuṇacandra was succeeded by Dhāḍiyappa-Bhillama-Śrīrāja (Rājugi)-Vallugi (Vādugi). After Vādugi came Dhāḍiyasa, whose name is omitted in the grants, and he was succeeded by his brother Bhillama, who married Lakṣmī, probably a Śilāhāra princess, connected with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from her mother's side. Bhillama helped Tailāpa in his war against Muñja. The next king was Vesugi, followed by his son Bhillama. This Bhillama married Hammā a Cālukya princess and fought several battles for Āhavamalla, the Cālukyan emperor. Then followed Vādugi-Vesugi (who humbled a number of subordinate chiefs)—Bhillama and Seuṇa. Seuṇa helped Vikramāditya II of the Cālukyas against a coalition of the enemies and enthroned him at Kalyan. Hoysāla Yādavas of Halebid in Mysore were becoming powerful at the time of Cālukyan Vikramāditya II, and their king, Viṣṇuvardhana, actually invaded the Cālukya territory and encamped on the banks of Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā. Seuṇacandra was succeeded by Parammadeva, probably his son, and next came his brother Siṅghaṇa, who rendered service to the Cālukyan Vikramāditya II. Siṅghaṇa's son Mallugi succeeded him and he conquered Parṇakheta and carried by force the troop of elephants from the king of Orissa. Then came his son, Amaragāṅgeya, followed by Govindarāja, after whom were crowned in successsion Mallugi's son Amaramallugi, Ballāla and Bhillama. Bhillama captured the town Śrīvardhana from king Antala, vanquished the king of Pratyandaka, killed Billana, the ruler of Maṅgalaveṣṭaka (Mangalvedhe), obtained the sovereignty of Kalyan and put to death the Hoysāla Yādava king. He also defeated other rulers, made himself master of the whole country north of the Kṛṣṇā, founded the city Devagiri and crowned himself king in 1187 A.C. making Devagiri his capital.[44] In his attempts to extend southward, Bhillama was opposed by the Hoysāla Vīraballāla, and several encounters took place between them. In the battle at Lokkigundi in Dharwar District in 1191 A.C., Bhillama's son, Jaitrasiṁha was defeated and Vīraballāla became sovereign

[43] *EHD*, XIV, XV, 137 ff. The account that follows is based on these two chapters from Dr. BHANDARKAR's book. Dr. SREENIVASACHAR's article (*JOR*, XII, 46-60) controverts some statements of Dr. BHANDARKAR in the light of inscriptions published later, to which attention has been drawn at proper places. The genealogy will be celar from the Table given in App. II., which has been combined from BHANDARKAR'S tables given at 146, 168 of his *EHD*, with slight changes in view of Dr. SREENIVASACHAR'S paper.

[44] Dr. SREENIVASACHAR (*JOR*, XII, 47-52) thinks that Bhillama's reign commenced from 1184 or 1185 A.C. and continued at least up to 1192 A.C.

of Kuntala. Bhillama was succeeded in 1191 A.C. by his son Jaitrapāla who was an active participant in his father's battles. Jaitrapāla killed the Kākatīya king in battle. Siṅghaṇa succeeded his father Jaitrapāla in 1210 A.C.[45] and the power and territory of the Yādavas greatly increased in his regime. Siṅghaṇa defeated the Cedī prince ruling over Chhattisgarh, annexed Tripura, desroyed the king of Malwa, and captured the Śilāhāra prince Bhoja. In 1213 A.C., Siṅghaṇa conquered Ballāla of the Hoysālas. Siṅghaṇa invaded Gujarat several times, and Lavaṇaprasāda, the ruling prince of the Vaghela branch of the Cālukyas had, as a result of the expedition, to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Siṅghaṇa. The Yādava empire in Siṅghaṇa's time was as extensive as that of any of the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. Siṅghaṇa's son Jaitugi (Jaitrapāla) was perhaps given some provinces during his father's lifetime. After Siṅghaṇa his grandsons Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva successively came to the throne. Kṛṣṇa led many a victorious campaign against the kings of Malwa, Gujarat, Konkan and Colas, and performed a number of sacrifices. Jalhaṇa, well known as the author of the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, was Kṛṣṇa's commander of the troops of elephants. Mahādeva ascended the throne in 1260 A.C., and vanquished the kings of Tailangas, Konkan and Lat, as also the Gūrjara king Vīśaladeva. Mahādeva was succeeded by his son Āmana,[46] but soon Kṛṣṇa's son Rāmacandra, the rightful heir, wrested the power from his hands and came to the throne in 1271 A.C. Rāmacandra was also known as Rāmadeva, and his empire extended as far south as the confines of Mysore. Hemādri, the celebrated author of standard works on *Dharmaśāstra* was a minister to Mahādeva and Rāmacandra. Rāmacandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Deccan. The story of the conquest of Devagiri by Alla-ud-din Khilji is too well known to be dealt with here. Rāmacandra fought bravely for some time, but had to sue for peace at last. Meanwhile, his son Śaṅkara led an army against the invader, but he was defeated. Rāmacandra had to agree to the payment of large sums of money as tribute annually. Thereafter Alla-ud-din assassinated his uncle and usurped the throne at Delhi. On the failure of Rāmacandra to send tribute for several years, Alla-ud-din sent Malik Kafur against him. Rāmacandra was defeated in the fight in 1307 A.C., and taken a prisoner to Delhi. He was, however, released with all honour after six months. Rāmacandra paid the tribute regularly thereafter and remained loyal to the

[45] Dr. SREENIVASACHAR (*JOR*, XII, 53-55) draws attention to the different sets of commencement of Singhaṇa's reign given by various dated inscriptions, placing the date variously at 1199-1200 A.C., 1208-1209 A.C. and 1210-1211 A.C., which he roughly divides into two classes, (*i*) 1199-1200 A.C. and (*ii*) 1208-1209 A.C., and concludes that "there were two different systems of reckoning the regnal years of Singhaṇa, which were both followed indiscriminately throughout his reign"; and also suggests (55-56) that the differences in regnal periods may be due to Singhaṇa, the heir-apparent, actually administering state affairs in his father's life-time, and becoming the sole ruler after the latter's death.

[46] Mr. GUPTE paints out that Āmaṇa was really the king, but was dethroned, and his eyes were put out by Rāmadeva (*JIH*, V, 198-203).

Muslims. Rāmacandra died in 1309 A.C., and was succeeded by his son Śaṅkara, who discontinued sending the annual tribute. Alla-ud-din sent Malik Kafur against Śaṅkara in 1312 A.C. He put Śaṅkara to death, annexed the kingdom and fixed residence at Devagiri. Later on, Alla-ud-din died and his third son Mubarik succeeded him. Taking advantage of the unsettled conditions at Delhi, Harapāla, son-in-law of Rāmacandra collected troops and drove away some Muslim governors. In 1318 A.C., however, Mubarik marched in person against Harapāla, took him a prisoner, and inhumanly flogged him alive. Thus came to an end the last Hindu or Maratha monarchy of the Deccan. It may be recalled that Jijabai, the mother of Shivaji the Great, came from the Jādhava family, who traced descent from the Devagiri Yādavas, and there are many Maratha families in the south known as Jādhava.

VI

As already stated, princes in medieaval times sought to connect themselves either with the Solar or Lunar race with the result that there are a number of families that claim to be Yādavas. It is impossible even to refer in brief to all of them here. Reference will be made to some important Yādava descendants connected with the Western or Central India. King Graharipu from Junagadh and Phulāni from Cutch who fought with Mūlarāja Solanki in the 10th cent. A.C. called themselves Yādavas.[47] The former was known as of the Cūḍāsamā family known as such from Cūḍācandra, a distinguished personage in the family, who has been connected with Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba. Cūḍacandra is assigned 875-907 A.C. Lakhā Phulāni from Cutch is said to belong to the Jaḍejā sect of the Yādavas from whom originated the royal families of Kathiawad including those at Jamnagar, Morwi, Gondal and Dhrol. Some scholars, however, regard the Cūḍāsamās, Jāḍejās and Devagiri Yādavas as Ābhīras. It is likely that for some time the original Yādavas giving rise to these families may have abandoned arms and may have taken to farming and husbandry, whence they came to be called Ābhīras; they again became Rajputs after they retook to arms.[48]

There is a difference of opinion regarding the family of the Rāṭhod Rajput kings of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jhabua, Amzara, Kishengarh, Rutlam, Sitamau, etc., some scholars placing them as scions of the Solar dynasty, and some as those of the Lunar dynasty. Many a time, partisan spirit has entered these discussions, and indeed there is no conclusive evidence that will command universal acceptance. Whatever the race of the Rāṭhods and Garhwals, Durgashanker SHASTRI[49] definitely rejects the Solar dynasty theory in the case of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the South, and takes them to be Lunar Yādavas on the strength of clear inscriptional and epigraphic evidence.

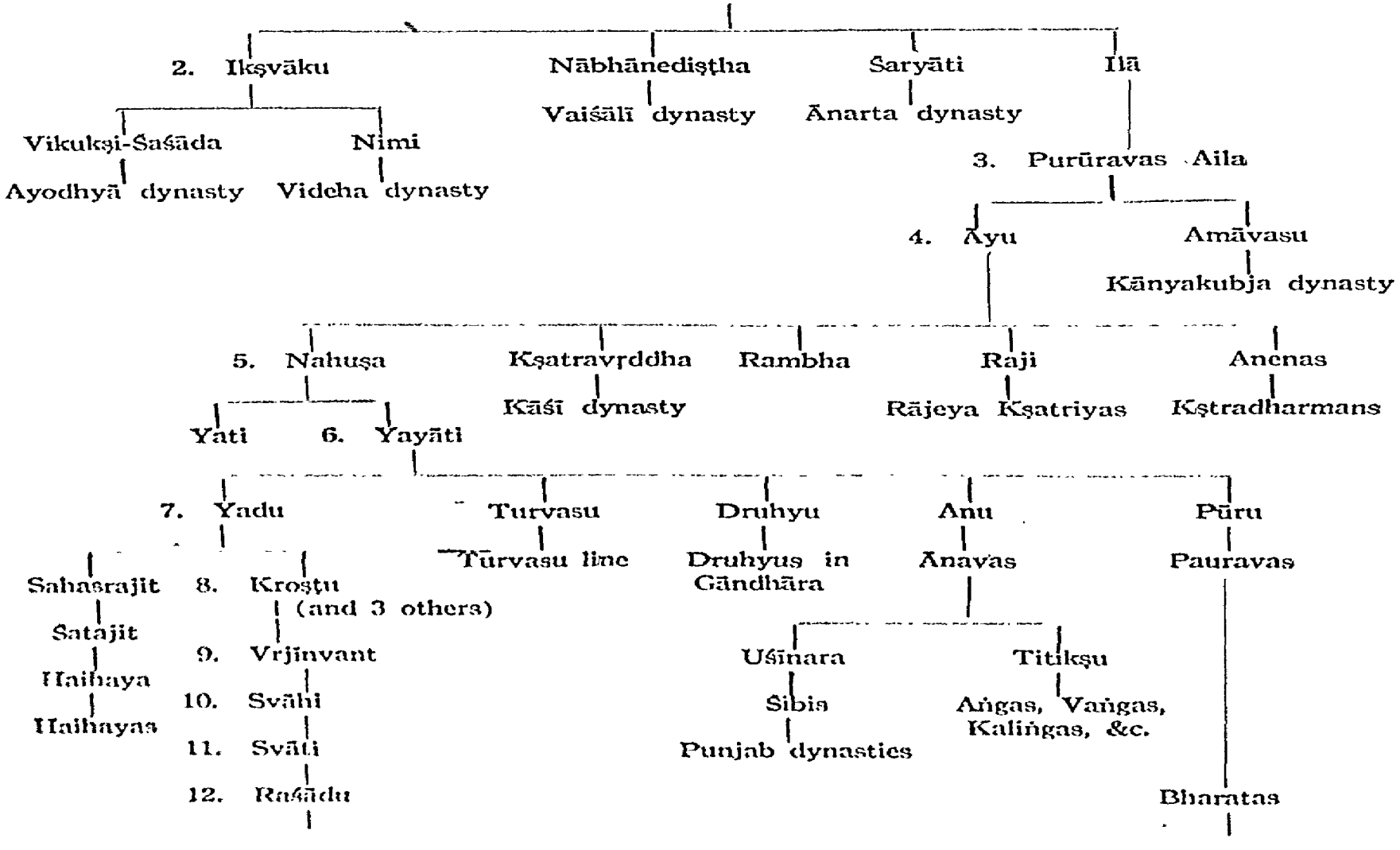
[47] Cf. Durgashankar SHASTRI, *AS*, 345 ff, and the references mentioned there.

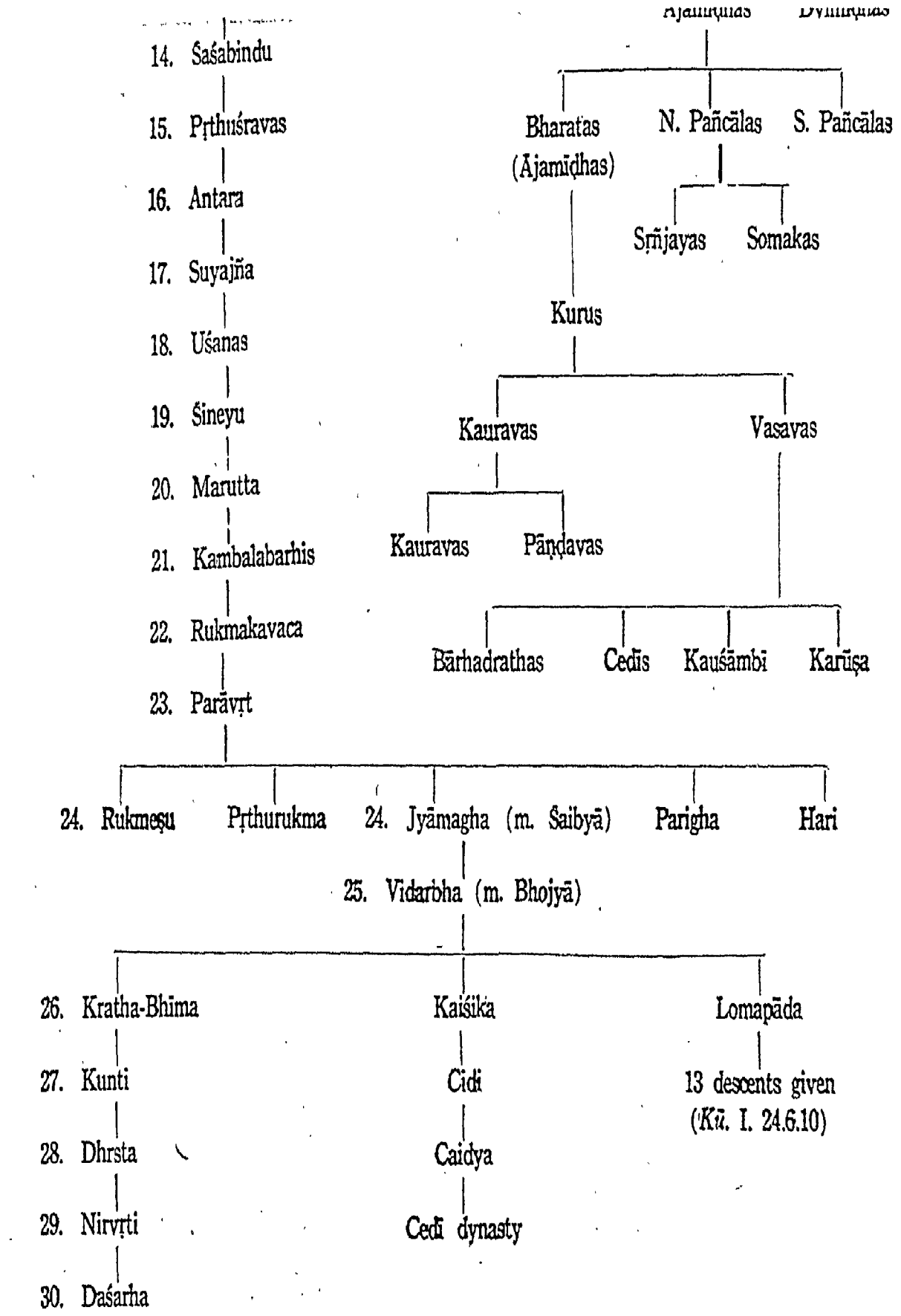
[48] Durgashanker SHASTRI, *AS*, 357-358.

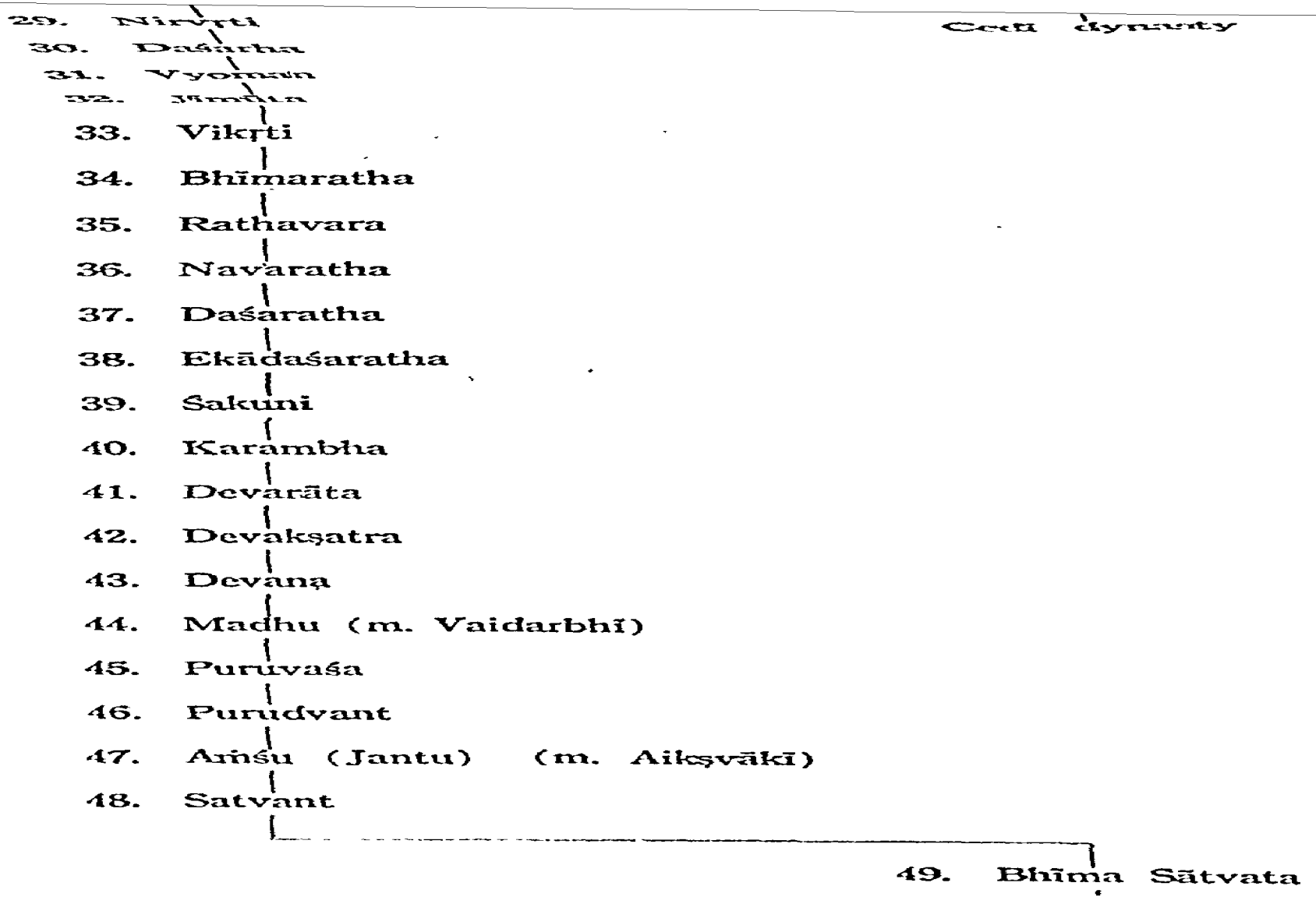
[49] *AS*, 356. Dr. SANKALIA has dealt with "Monuments of the Yādava Period in the Poona District," *BDCRI*, II, 217-225.

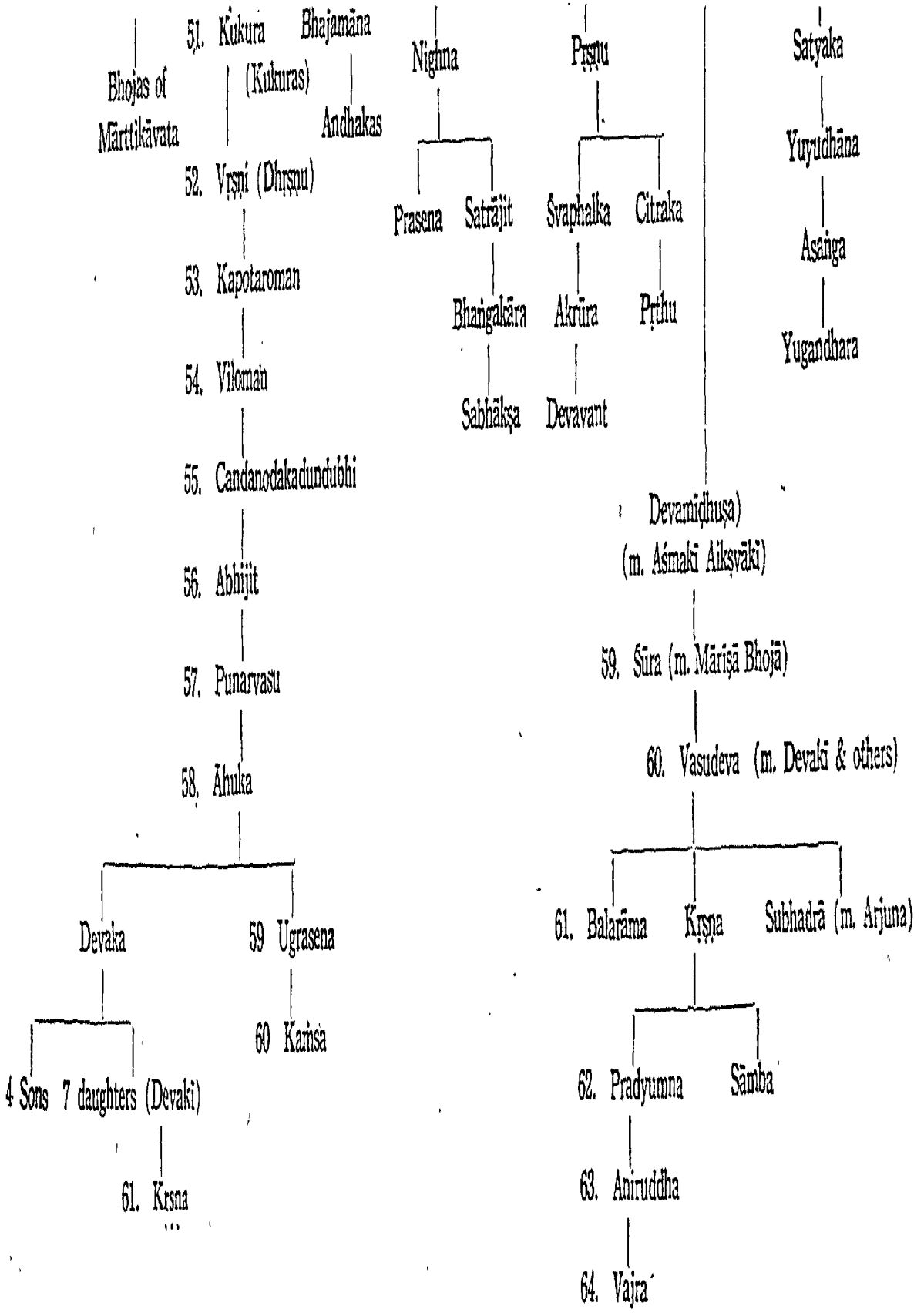
APPENDIX I.

YADAVAS UPTO THE BHARATA WAR



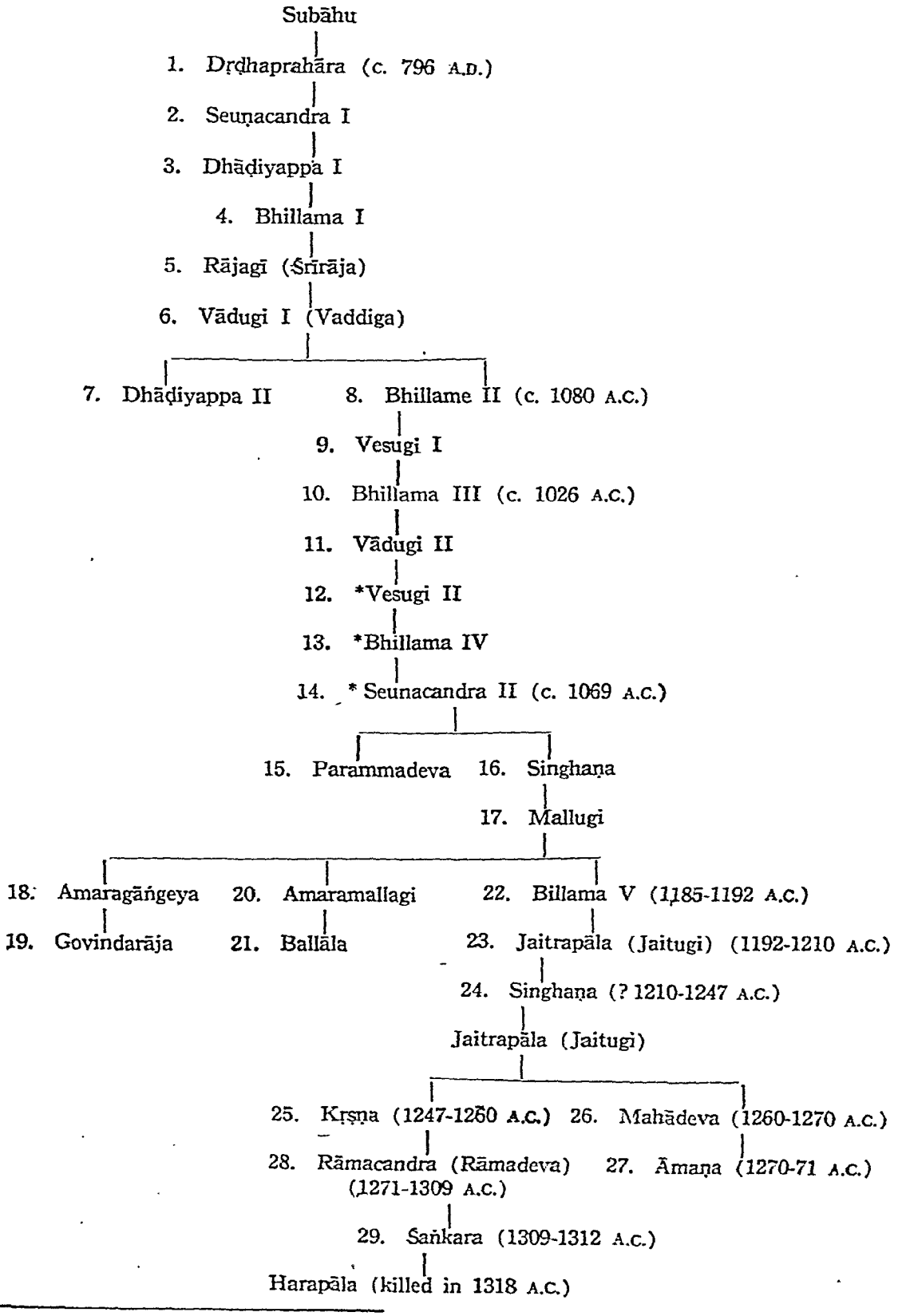

Ajamīḍhas
Dvimīḍhas
14. Śaśabindu
15. Pṛthuśravas
16. Antara
17. Suyajña
18. Uśanas
19. Śineyu
20. Marutta
21. Kambalabarhis
22. Rukmakavaca
23. Parāvṛt
Bharatas
(Ājamīḍhas)
N. Pañcālas
S. Pañcālas
Sṛñjayas
Somakas
Kurus
Kauravas
Vasavas
Kauravas
Pāṇḍavas
Bārhadrathas
Cedīs
Kauśāmbi
Karūṣa
24. Rukmeṣu
Pṛthurukma
24. Jyāmagha (m. Śaibyā)
Parigha
Hari
25. Vidarbha (m. Bhojyā)
26. Kratha-Bhīma
Kaiśika
Lomapāda
27. Kunti
Cidi
13 descents given
(Kū. I. 24.6.10)
28. Dhrsta
Caidya
29. Nirvṛti
Cedi dynasty
30. Daśarha


29. Nirvṛtī
30. Daśārha
31. Vyomān
32. Jīmūta
33. Vikṛti
34. Bhīmaratha
35. Rathavara
36. Navaratha
37. Daśaratha
38. Ekādaśaratha
39. Śakuni
40. Karambha
41. Devarāta
42. Devakṣatra
43. Devaṇa
44. Madhu (m. Vaidarbhī)
45. Puruvaśa
46. Purudvant
47. Aṁśu (Jantu) (m. Aikṣvākī)
48. Satvant
49. Bhīma Sātvata


Bhojas of Mārttikāvata
51. Kukura (Kukuras)
Bhajamāna
Andhakas
Nighna
Pṛṣṇu
Satyaka
Prasena
Satrājit
Śvaphalka
Citraka
Yuyudhāna
52. Vṛṣṇi (Dhṛṣṇu)
Asaṅga
53. Kapotaroman
Bhaṅgakāra
Akrūra
Pṛthu
Yugandhara
54. Vilomān
Sabhākṣa
Devavant
55. Candanodakadundubhi
Devamiḍhuṣa)
(m. Aśmaki Aikṣvāki)
56. Abhijit
59. Śūra (m. Māriṣā Bhojā)
57. Punarvasu
60. Vasudeva (m. Devaki & others)
58. Āhuka
Devaka
59 Ugrasena
61. Balarāma
Kṛṣṇa
Subhadrā (m. Arjuna)
60 Kaṁsa
4 Sons
7 daughters (Devaki)
62. Pradyumna
Sāmba
61. Kṛsna
63. Aniruddha
64. Vajra

APPENDIX II.

Later Yādavas



* Relations of these kings with their predecessors have not been clearly stated.

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૧૫ દિવસ : આ પુસ્તક વધુમાં વધુ ૧૫ દિવસ
માટે રાખી શકાશે.

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